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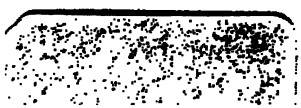

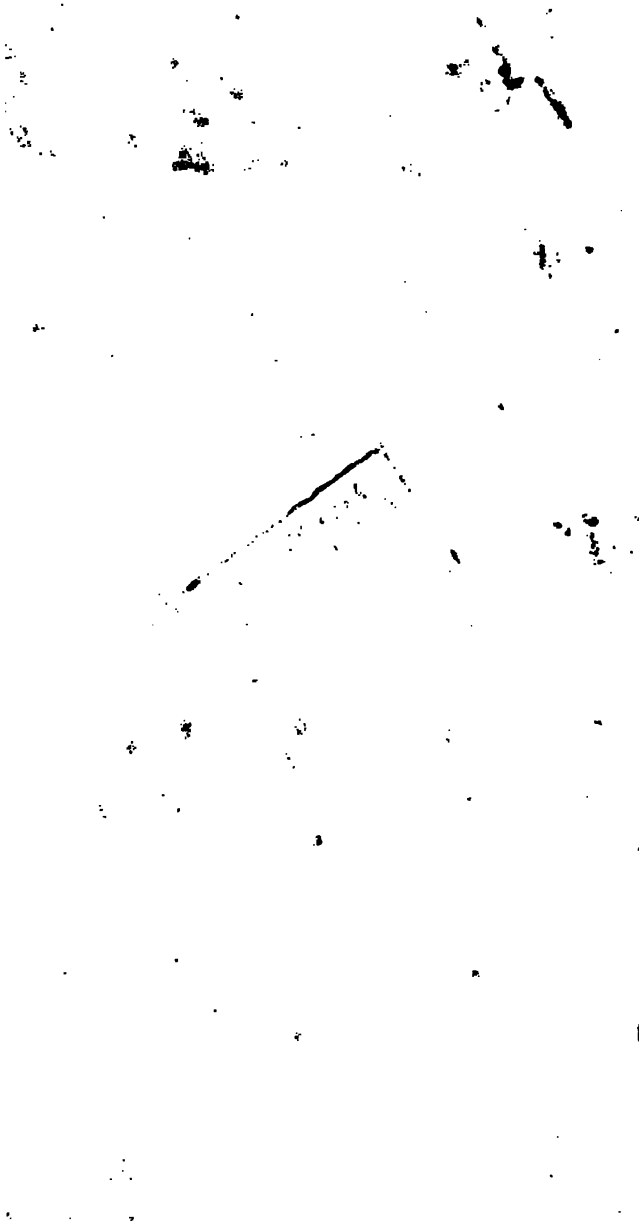

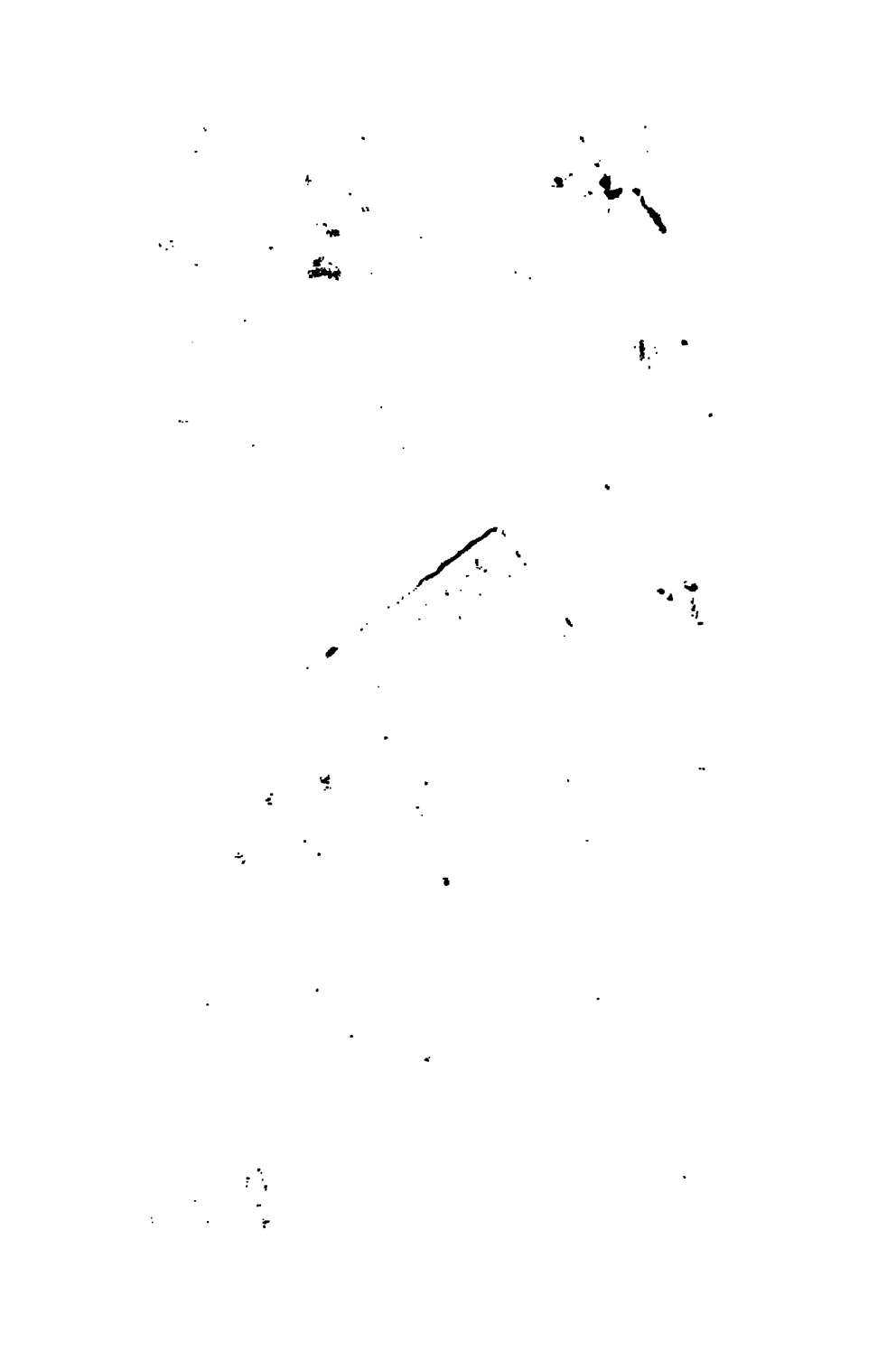

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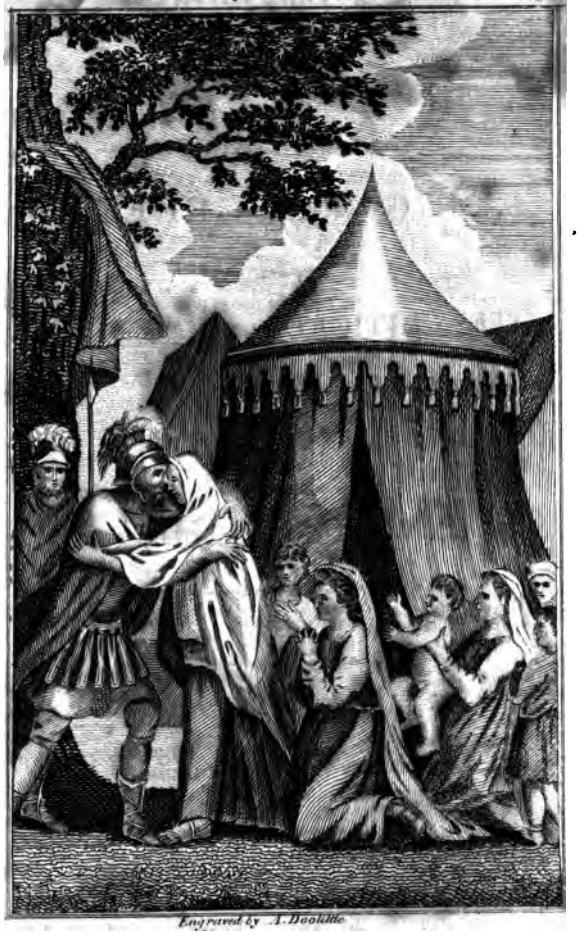

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PLUTARCH's

LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM THE

ORIGINAL GREEK:

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.....VOLUME II.

BY JOHN & WILLIAM LANGHORNE.

FIRST WORCESTER EDITION.

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C.K

PLUTARCH's LIVES.

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

SUCH were the memorable actions of Pericles,* as far as we have been able to collect them; and now we proceed to the life of Fabius Maximus.

The first Fabius was the son of Hercules by one of the nymphs, according to some authors; or, as others say, by a woman of the country, near the river Tyber. From him came the family of the Fabii, one of the most numerous and illustrious in Rome.† Yet some authors write, that the first founders of this family were called *Fodii*,‡ on account of their catching wild beasts by means of *pits*; for a *pit* is still in Latin called *fovea*, and the word *fodere* signifies *to dig*; but in time two letters being changed, they had the name of *Fabii*. This family produced many eminent men, the most considerable of whom was *Rullus*,‖

* ὡς παρειλήφαμεν.

† The most numerous, for that family alone undertook the war against the Veientes, and sent out three hundred and six persons of their own name, who were all slain in that expedition. It was likewise one of the most illustrious; for the Fabii had borne the highest offices in the state, and two of them had been seven times consuls.

‡ Pliny's account of the matter is much more probable, *viz.* that they were called *Fabii*, *a Fabis*, from their skill in raising beans; as several other families of note among the Romans were denominated from other branches of husbandry. Indeed, their first heroes tilled the ground with their own hands.

‖ This Fabius Rullus was five times consul, and gained several important victories over the Samnites, Tuscans, and other nations. It was not, however, from these great actions that he obtained the surname of *Maximus*, but from his behavior in the censorship; during which he reduced the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were dispersed among all the tribes in general, and by that means had very great power in the assemblies. These were called *Tribus Urbanæ*. Liv. lib. ix. cap. 46.

by the Romans ſurnamed *Maximus* or *the great*, and from him the Fabius Maximus of whom we are writing, was the fourth in deſcent.

This laſt had the ſurname of *Verrucoſus* from a ſmall wart on his upper lip. He was likewiſe called *Ovicula** from the mildneſs and gravity of his behavior when a boy. Nay, his compoſed demeanor, and his ſilence, his caution in engaging in the diverſions of the other boys, the ſlowneſs and difficulty with which he took up what was taught him, together with the ſubmiſſive manner in which he complied with the propoſals of his comrades brought him under the ſuſpicion of ſtupidity and fooliſhneſs, with thoſe that did not thoroughly know him. Yet a few there were who perceived that his compoſedneſs was owing to the ſolidity of his parts, and who diſcerned withal a magnanimity and lionlike courage in his nature. In a ſhort time, when application to buſineſs drew him out, it was obvious even to the many, that his ſeeming inactivity was a command which he had of his paſſions, that his cautiouſneſs was prudence, and that what had paſſed for heavineſs and inſenſibility was really an immoveable firmneſs of ſoul. He ſaw what an important concern the adminiſtration was, and in what wars the republic was frequently engaged, and therefore by exerciſe prepared his body, conſidering its ſtrength as a natural armor; at the ſame time he improved his powers of perſuaſion, as the engines by which the people are to be moved; adapting them to the manner of his life. For in his eloquence there was nothing of affectation, no empty† plauſible elegance, but it was full of that good ſenſe which was peculiar to him, and had a ſententious force and depth, ſaid to have reſembled that of Thucydides. There is an oration of his ſtill extant, which he delivered before the people on occaſion of his ſon's funeral, who died after he had been conſul.

Fabius Maximus was five times conſul;‡ and in his firſt conſulſhip was honored with a triumph for the victory he gained over the Ligurians; who being defeated by him in a ſet battle, with the loſs of a great number of men, were driven behind the Alps, and kept from ſuch inroads and ravages as they had uſed to make in the neighboring provinces.

* Ovicula ſignifies *a little ſheep*.

† The writers that effect this, Plato calls λογοδαιδαλους.

‡ Fabius was conſul the firſt time in the year of Rome 521; and the fifth time, in the tenth year of the ſecond Punic war, in the year of Rome 545.

Some years after, Hannibal having invaded Italy,* and gained the battle of Trebia, advanced through Tuſcany, laying waſte the country, and ſtriking Rome itſelf with terror and aſtoniſhment. This deſolation was announced by ſigns and prodigies, ſome familiar to the Romans, as that of thunder for inſtance, and others quite ſtrange and unaccountable. For it was ſaid, that certain ſhields ſweated blood, that bloody corn was cut at Antium, that redhot ſtones fell from the air, that the Falerians ſaw the heavens open, and many billets fall,† upon one of which theſe words were very legible, *Mars brandiſheth his arms.* But Caius Flaminius, then conſul, was not diſcouraged by any of theſe things. He was indeed naturally a man of much fire and ambition, and beſides was elated by former ſucceſſes which he had met with contrary to all probability; for againſt the ſenſe of the ſenate and his colleague, he had engaged with the Gauls and beaten them. Fabius likewiſe paid but little regard to prodigies,‡ as too abſurd to be believed, notwithſtanding the great effect they had upon the multitude. But being informed how ſmall the numbers of the enemy were, and of the want of money, he adviſed the Romans to have pa-

* Here Plutarch leaves a void of fifteen years. It was not indeed a remarkable period of the life of Fabius. Hannibal entered Italy in the year of Rome 535. He defeated Scipio in the battle of Ticinus, before he beat Sempronius in that of Trebia.

† Plutarch miſunderſtood Livy, and of the two prodigies which he mentions, made but one. Livy ſays, "At Falerium the ſky was "ſeen to open, and in the void ſpace a great light appeared. The "lots at Præneſte ſhrunk of their own accord, and one of them "dropped down, whereon was written, *Mars brandiſheth his ſword.*" Liv. lib. xxii.—Theſe lots were bits of oak handſomely wrought, with ſome ancient characters inſcribed upon them. When any came to conſult them, the coffer in which they were kept was opened, and a child having firſt ſhaken them together, drew out one from the reſt, which contained the anſwer to the queriſt's demand. As to the lots being ſhrunk, which Livy mentions, and which was conſidered as a bad omen, no doubt the prieſts had two ſets, a ſmaller and a greater, which they played upon the people's ſuperſtition as they pleaſed. Cicero ſays they were very little regarded in his time. *Cic. de Divinat.* lib. ii.

‡ If Fabius was not moved by thoſe prodigies, it was not becauſe he deſpiſed them (as his colleague did, who according to Livy, neſther feared the gods nor took advice of men) but becauſe he hoped by appeaſing the anger of the gods, to render the prodigies ineffectual. It was not Fabius, however, but Cn. Servilius Geminus, who was colleague to Flaminius.

tience; not to give battle to a man who led on an arm hardened by many conflicts for this very purpose, but send succors to their allies, and to secure the towns th were in their possession, until the vigor of the enemy e: pired of itself, like a flame for want of fuel.

He could not however, prevail upon Flaminius. Th general declared he would never suffer the war to approa Rome, nor like Camillus of old, dispute within the wal who should be the master of the city. He, therefore, c dered the tribunes to draw out the forces, and mount his horse, but was thrown headlong off,* the horse witho any visible cause being seized with a fright and tremblin Yet he persisted in his resolution of marching out to me Hannibal, and drew up his army near the lake call Thrasymenus,† in Tuscany.

While the armies were engaged, there happened an eart quake, which overturned whole cities, changed the cou of rivers, and tore off the tops of mountains; yet not c of the combatants was in the least sensible of that viol motion. Flaminius himself having greatly signalized strength and valor, fell; and with him the bravest of troops; the rest being routed, a great carnage ensue full fifteen thousand were slain, and as many taken pris ers.‡ Hannibal was very desirous of discovering the bo of Flaminius, that he might bury it with due honor, a tribute to his bravery, but he could not find it, nor co any account be given what became of it.

* This fall from his horse, which was considered as an ill om was followed by another as bad. When the ensign attempte pull his standard out of the ground in order to march, he had strength enough to do it. But where is the wonder, says Cicero have a horse take fright, or to find a standard bearer feebly end oring to draw up the standard which he had perhaps purpo struck deep into the ground? † Now the lake of Perug

‡ Notwithstanding this complete victory, Hannibal lost only teen hundred men; for he fought the Romans at great advant having drawn them into an ambuscade between the hills of Cor and the lake Thrasymenus. Livy and Valerius Maximus mak number of prisoners only six thousand; but Polybius says, were much more numerous. About ten thousand Romans, m of them wounded, made their escape, and took their route to Ro where few of them arrived, the rest dying of their wounds be they reached the capital. Two mothers were so transported v joy, one at the gate of the city, when she saw her son unexpecte appear, and the other at home, where she found her son, that t both expired on the spot.

When the Romans loſt the battle of Trebia, neither the generals ſent a true account of it, nor the meſſenger repreſented it as it was; both pretended the victory was doubtful. But as to the laſt, as ſoon as the prætor Pomponius was appriſed of it, he aſſembled the people, and without diſguiſing the matter in the leaſt, made this declaration: "Romans, we have loſt a great battle, our army is cut to "pieces, and Flaminius the conſul is ſlain; think, there- "fore, what is to be done for your ſafety." The ſame commotion which a furious wind cauſes in the ocean, did theſe words of the prætor produce in ſo vaſt a multitude. In the firſt conſternation they could not fix upon any thing; but at length all agreed that affairs required the direction of an abſolute power, which they called the dictatorſhip, and that a man ſhould be pitched upon for it, who would exerciſe it with ſteadineſs and intrepidity. That ſuch a man was Fabius Maximus, who had a ſpirit and dignity of manners equal to ſo great a command, and beſides was of an age in which the vigor of the body is ſufficient to execute the purpoſes of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

Purſuant to theſe reſolutions, Fabius was choſen dictator,* and he appointed Lucius Minucius his general of the horſe.† But firſt he deſired permiſſion of the ſenate to make uſe of a horſe when in the field. This was forbidden by an ancient law, either becauſe they placed their greateſt ſtrength in the infantry, and therefore choſe that the commander in chief ſhould be always poſted among them; or elſe becauſe they would have the dictator, whoſe power in all other reſpects was very great, and indeed arbitrary, in this caſe at leaſt appear to be dependent upon the people. In the next place Fabius, willing to ſhow the high authority and grandeur of his office, in order to make the people more tractable and ſubmiſſive, appeared in public with twenty-four *lictors* carrying the *faſces* before him; and when the ſurviving conſul met him, he ſent one of his

* A dictator could not be regularly named but by the ſurviving conſul, and Servilius being with the army, the people appointed Fabius by their own authority with the title of prodictator. However, the gratitude of Rome allowed his deſcendants to put dictator inſtead of prodictator, in the liſt of his titles.

† According to Polybius and Livy, his name was not Lucius but Marcus Minucius; nor was he pitched upon by Fabius, but by the people.

officers to order him to diſmiſs his *lictors* and the other enſigns of his employment, and to join him as a private man.

Then beginning with an act of religion, which is the beſt of all beginnings,* and aſſuring the people that their defeats were not owing to the cowardice of the ſoldiers, but to the general's neglect of the ſacred rites and auſpices, he exhorted them to entertain no dread of the enemy, but by extraordinary honors to propitiate the gods. Not that he wanted to infuſe into them a ſpirit of ſuperſtition, but to confirm their valor by piety, and to deliver them from every other fear by a ſenſe of the Divine protection. On that occaſion he conſulted ſeveral of thoſe myſterious books of the Sybils, which contained matters of great uſe to the ſtate; and it is ſaid, that ſome of the prophecies found there perfectly agreed with the circumſtances of thoſe times; but it was not lawful for him to divulge them. However, in full aſſembly, he avowed to the gods a *ver ſacrum*, †that is, all the young which the next ſpring ſhould produce, on the mountains, the fields, the rivers and meadows of Italy, from the goats, the ſwine, the ſheep, and the cows. He likewiſe vowed to exhibit the great games in honor of the gods, and to expend upon thoſe games three hundred and thirty-three thouſand *feſterces*, three hundred and thirty-three *denarii* and one third of a *denarius*; which ſum in our Greek money is eighty-three thouſand five hundred and eighty-three *drachmas* and two *oboli*. What his reaſon might be for fixing upon that preciſe number is not eaſy to determine, unleſs it were on account of the perfection of the number three, as being the firſt of odd numbers, the firſt of plurals, and containing in itſelf the firſt differences, and the firſt elements of all numbers.

Fabius having taught the people to repoſe themſelves on acts of religion, made them more eaſy as to future events. For his own part, he placed all his hopes of victory in himſelf, believing that heaven bleſſes men with ſucceſs on account of their virtue and prudence; and therefore he watched the motions of Hannibal, not with a deſign to give him battle, but by length of time to waſte his ſpirit and vigor, and gradually to deſtroy him by means of his ſuperiority in men and money. To ſecure himſelf againſt the enemy's horſe, he took care to encamp above them on high and

* καλλιςην αρχομενος απ δεων αρχην———

† This vow had formerly been made to Mars by Aulus Cornelius, and neglected.

mountainous places. When they ſat ſtill, he did the ſame; when they were in motion, he ſhewed himſelf upon the heights, at ſuch a diſtance as not to be obliged to fight againſt his inclination, and yet near enough to keep them in perpetual alarm, as if, amidſt his arts to gain time, he intended every moment to give them battle.

Theſe dilatory proceedings expoſed him to contempt among the Romans in general, and even in his own army. The enemy, too, excepting Hannibal, thought him a man of no ſpirit. He alone was ſenſible of the keenneſs of Fabius, and of the manner in which he intended to carry on the war, and therefore was determined, if poſſible, either by ſtratagem or force, to bring him to a battle, concluding that otherwiſe the Carthaginians muſt be undone; ſince they could not decide the matter in the field, where they had the advantage, but muſt gradually wear away, and be reduced to nothing; when the diſpute was only who ſhould be ſuperior in men and money. Hence it was that he exhauſted the whole art of war; like a ſkillful wreſtler, who watches every opportunity to lay hold of his adverſary. Sometimes he advanced, and alarmed him with the apprehenſions of an attack; ſometimes by marching and countermarching, he led him from place to place, hoping to draw him from his plan of caution.* But as he was fully perſuaded of its utility, he kept immoveably to his reſolution. Minucius his general of horſe, gave him, however, no ſmall trouble by his unſeaſonable courage and heat, haranguing the army, and filling them with a furious deſire to come to action, and a vain confidence of ſucceſs. Thus the ſoldiers were brought to deſpiſe Fabius, and by way of deriſion to call him the *pedagogue* of Hannibal,† while they extolled Minucius as a great man, and one that acted up to the dignity of Rome. This led Minucius to give a freer ſcope to his arrogance and pride, and to ridicule the dictator for encamping conſtantly upon the mountains, "As if he did it on purpoſe that his men might more "clearly behold Italy laid waſte with fire and ſword." And he aſked the friends of Fabius, "Whether he intended to "take his army up into heaven, as he had bid adieu to "the world below, or whether he would ſcreen himſelf

* Εκπηδαὶ ὑπων περ τῆς ασφαλειας; λογισμων ξυλομενος.

† For the office of a pedagogue of old was (as the name implies) to attend the children, to carry them up and down, and conduct them home again.

"from the enemy with clouds and fogs?" When the dictator's friends brought him an account of theſe aſperſions, and exhorted him to wipe them off by riſking a battle, "In "this caſe," ſaid he, "I ſhould be of a more daſtardly ſpir- "it than they repreſent me, if, through fear of inſults and "reproaches, I ſhould depart from my own reſolution. "But to fear for my country is not a diſagreeable fear; "That man is unworthy of ſuch a command as this, who "ſhrinks under calumnies and ſlanders, and complies with "the humor of thoſe whom he ought to govern, and whoſe "folly and raſhneſs it is his duty to reſtrain."

After this Hannibal made a diſagreeable miſtake. For intending to lead his army farther from Fabius, and to move into a part of the country that would afford him forage, he ordered the guides, immediately after ſupper, to conduct him to the plains of Caſinum.* They taking the word wrong, by reaſon of his *barbarous* pronunciation of it, led his forces to the borders of Campania, near the towns of Caſalinum, through which runs the river Lothronus, which the Romans call Vulturnus. The adjacent country is ſurrounded with mountains, except only a valley that ſtretches out to the ſea. Near the ſea the ground is very marſhy, and full of large banks of ſand, by reaſon of the overflowing of the river. The ſea is there very rough, and the coaſt almoſt impracticable.

As ſoon as Hannibal was entered into this valley, Fabius availing himſelf of his knowledge of the country, ſeized the narrow outlet, and placed in it a guard of four thouſand men. The main body of his army he poſted to advantage on the ſurrounding hills, and with the lighteſt and moſt active of his troops, fell upon the enemy's rear, put their whole army in diſorder, and killed about eight hundred of them.

Hannibal then wanted to get clear of ſo diſadvantageous a ſituation, and in revenge of the miſtake the guides had

* Hannibal had ravaged Samnium, plundered the territory of Beneventum, a Roman colony, and laid ſiege to Tiieſia, a city at the foot of the Appenines. But finding that neither the ravaging of the country, not even the taking of ſome cities, could make Fabius quit his eminences, he reſolved to make uſe of a ſtronger bait; which was, to enter Campania, the fineſt country in Italy, and lay it waſte under the dictator's eyes, hoping by that means to bring him to an action. But, by the miſtake which Plutarch mentions, his guides, inſtead of conducting him to the plains of Caſinum led him into the narrow paſſes of Caſilinum, which divides Samnium from Campania.

made, and the danger they had brought him into, he crucified them all. But not knowing how to drive the enemy from the heights they were maſters of, and ſenſible beſides of the terror and confuſion that reigned amongſt his men, who concluded themſelves fallen into a ſnare, from which there was no eſcaping, he had recourſe to ſtratagem.

The contrivance was this: He cauſed two thouſand oxen, which he had in his camp, to have torches and dry bavins well faſtened to their horns. Theſe, in the night, upon a ſignal given, were to be lighted, and the oxen to be driven to the mountains, near the narrow paſs that was guarded by the enemy. While thoſe that had it in charge were thus employed, he decamped, and marched ſlowly forward. So long as the fire was moderate, and burnt only the torches and bavins, the oxen moved ſoftly on, as they were driven up the hills; and the ſhepherds and herdſmen on the adjacent heights took them for an army that marched in order with lighted torches. But when their horns were burnt to the roots, and the fire pierced to the quick, terrified and mad with pain, they no longer kept any certain route, but ran up the hills, with their foreheads and tails flaming, and ſetting every thing on fire that came in their way.—The Romans who guarded the paſs were aſtoniſhed; for they appeared to them like a great number of men running up and down with torches, which ſcattered fire on every ſide. In their fears, of courſe, they concluded, that they ſhould be attacked and ſurrounded by the enemy; for which reaſon they quitted the paſs, and fled to the main body in the camp. Immediately Hannibal's light armed troops took poſſeſſion of the outlet, and the reſt of his forces marched ſafely through, loaded with a rich booty.

Fabius diſcovered the ſtratagem that ſame night, for ſome of the oxen, as they were ſcattered about, fell into his hands; but, for fear of an ambuſh in the dark, he kept his men all night under arms in the camp. At break of day, he purſued the enemy, came up with their rear, and attacked them; ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued in the difficult paſſes of the mountains, and Hannibal's army was put in ſome diſorder, until he detached from his van a body of Spaniards, light and nimble men, who were accuſtomed to climb ſuch heights. Theſe falling upon the heavy armed Romans, cut off a conſiderable number of them, and obliged Fabius,

* ἀχρὶ μὲν πυρὸς ὀλίγου ἦν, καὶ περιέκαιε τὴν ὕλην ——

to retire. This brought upon him more contempt and calumny than ever; for having renounced open force, as if he could ſubdue Hanniabal by conduct and foreſight, he appeared now to be worſted at his own weapons. Hannibal to incenſe the Romans ſtill more againſt him, when he came to his lands, ordered them to be ſpared, and ſet a guard upon them to prevent the committing of the leaſt injury there, while he was ravaging all the country around them, and laying it waſte with fire. An account of theſe things being brought to Rome, heavy complaints were made thereupon. The tribunes alleged many articles of accuſation againſt him, before the people, chiefly at the inſtigation of Metilius, who had no particular enmity to Fabius, but being ſtrongly in the intereſt of Minucius the general of the horſe, whoſe relation he was, he thought by depreſſing Fabius, to raiſe his friend. The ſenate, too, was offended, particularly with the terms he had ſettled with Hannibal for the ranſom of priſoners. For it was agreed between them, that the priſoners ſhould be exchanged, man for man, and that if either of them had more than the other, he ſhould releaſe them for two hundred and fifty drachmas each man;* and upon the whole account there remained two hundred and forty Romans unexchanged. The ſenate determined not to pay this ranſom, and blamed Fabius as taking a ſtep that was againſt the honor and intereſt of the ſtate, in endeavoring to recover men whom cowardice had betrayed into the hands of the enemy.

When Fabius was informed of the reſentment of his fellow citizens, he bore it with invincible patience; but being in want of money, and not chooſing to deceive Hannibal, or to abandon his countrymen in their diſtreſs, he ſent his ſon to Rome, with orders to ſell part of his eſtate, and bring him the money immediately. This was punctually performed by his ſon, and Fabius redeemed the priſoners; ſeveral of whom afterwards offered to repay him, but his generoſity would not permit him to accept it.

After this he was called to Rome by the prieſts, to aſſiſt at ſome of the ſolemn ſacrifices, and therefore was obliged to leave the army to Minucius; but he both charged him as dictator, and uſed many arguments and entreaties with him as a friend, not to come to any kind of action. The pains

* Livy calls this *argenti pondo bina et ſelibras in militem*; whence we learn that the Roman *pondo*, or pound weight of ſilver, was equivalent to one hundred Grecian *drachmas* or a *mina*.

he took were loſt upon Minucius; for he immediately ſought occaſions to fight the enemy. And obſerving one day that Hannibal had ſent out great part of his army to forage, he attacked thoſe that were left behind, and drove them within their entrenchments, killing great numbers of them, ſo that they even feared he would ſtorm their camp; and when the reſt of the Carthaginian forces were returned, he retreated without loſs.* This ſucceſs added to his temerity, and increaſed the ardor of the ſoldiers. The report of it ſoon reached Rome, and the advantage was repreſented as much greater than it really was. When Fabius was informed of it, he ſaid, *he dreaded nothing more than* the ſucceſs *of Minucius*. But the people mightily elated with the news ran to the *forum*; and their tribune Metilius harangued them from the *roſtrum*, highly extolling Minucius, and accuſing Fabius now, not of cowardice and want of ſpirit, but of treachery. He endeavored alſo to involve the principal men in Rome in the ſame crime, alleging, "That they had originally brought the war "upon Italy, for the deſtruction of the common people, "and had put the commonwealth under the abſolute di- "rection of one man, who, by his ſlow proceedings, gave "Hannibal opportunity to eſtabliſh himſelf in the coun- "try, and to draw freſh forces from Carthage in order "to effect a total conqueſt of Italy."

Fabius diſdained to make any defence againſt theſe allegations of the tribune; he only declared, that "He would "finiſh the ſacrifice, and other religious rites, as ſoon as "poſſible, that he might return to the army and puniſh "Minucius for fighting contrary to his orders." This occaſioned a great tumult among the people, who were alarmed at the danger of Minucius. For it is in the dictator's power to impriſon and inflict capital puniſhment without form of trial; and they thought that the wrath of Fabius now provoked, though he was naturally very mild and patient, would prove heavy and implacable. But fear kept them all ſilent, except Metilius, whoſe perſon, as tribune of the people could not be touched, (for the tribunes are the only officers of ſtate, that retain their authority after the appointing of a dictator.) Metilius entreated, inſiſted that the people ſhould not give up Minucius, to ſuffer

* Others ſay, that he loſt five thouſand of his men, and that the enemy's loſs did not exceed his by more than a thouſand.

perhaps, what Manlius Torquatus cauſed his own ſon t ſuffer, whom he beheaded when crowned with laurel for hi victory; but that they ſhould take from Fabius his powe to play the tyrant, and leave the direction of affairs to on who was both able and willing to ſave his country. Th people, though much affected with this ſpeech, did not ven ture to diveſt Fabius of the dictatorſhip, notwithſtandin the *odium* he had incurred, but decreed that Minucius ſhoul ſhare the command with him, and have equal authority i conducting the war; a thing never before practiſed i Rome. There was, however, another inſtance of it ſoon af ter upon the unfortunate action of Cannæ; for Marcus Ju nius the dictator being then in the field, they created anoth er dictator, Fabius Buteo, to fill up the ſenate, many o whoſe members were ſlain in that battle. There was thi difference, indeed, that Buteo had no ſooner enrolled th new ſenators, than he diſmiſſed his *lictors* and the reſt of hi retinue, and mixed with the crowd, ſtopping ſome time i the *forum* about his own affairs as a private man.

When the people had thus inveſted Minucius with a pow er equal to that of the dictator, they thought they ſhoul find Fabius extremely humbled and dejected; but it ſoo appeared that they knew not the man. For he did not reck on their miſtake any unhappineſs to him; but as Diogenes the philoſopher, when one ſaid, "They deride you," an- ſwered well, "But I am not derided;" accounting thoſ only to be ridiculed, who feel the ridicule and are diſcom poſed at it; ſo Fabius bore without emotion all that hap pened to himſelf, herein confirming that poſition in philoſ ophy, which affirms that *a wiſe and good man can ſuffe no diſgrace.* But he was under no ſmall concern for th public on account of the unadviſed proceedings of the peo ple, who had put it in the power of a raſh man to indulg his indiſcreet ambition for military diſtinction. And ap prehenſive that Minucius, infatuated with ambition, migh take ſome fatal ſtep, he left Rome very privately.

Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the arrogance Minucius grown to ſuch a height, that it was no longer t be endured. Fabius therefore refuſed to comply with h demand of having the army under his orders every oth day, and, inſtead of that, divided the forces with hi chooſing rather to have the full command of a part, th the direction of the whole by turns. He therefore took t firſt and fourth legions himſelf, leaving the ſecond a

third to Minucius; and the confederate forces were likewiſe equally divided.

Minucius valued himſelf highly upon this, that the power of the greateſt and moſt arbitrary office in the ſtate was controled and reduced for his ſake. But Fabius put him in mind, "That it was not Fabius whom he had to "contend with, but Hannibal; that if he would, notwithſtanding, conſider his colleague as his rival, he muſt "take care leſt he who had ſo ſucceſſively carried his point "with the people, ſhould one day appear to have their "ſafety and intereſt leſs at heart than the man who had "been ſo ill treated by them." Minucius conſidering this as the effect of an old man's pique, and taking the troops that fell to his lot, marked out a ſeparate camp for them.* Hannibal was well informed of all that paſſed, and watched his opportunity to take advantage of it.

There was a hill betwixt him and the enemy, not difficult to take poſſeſſion of, which yet would afford an army a very ſafe and commodious poſt. The ground about it, at a diſtance, ſeemed quite level and plain, though there were in it ſeveral ditches and hollows; and therefore, though he might privately have ſeized that poſt with eaſe, yet he left it as a bait to draw the enemy to an engagement. But as ſoon as he ſaw Minucius parted from Fabius, he took an opportunity in the night to place a number† of men in thoſe ditches and hollows; and early in the morning he openly ſent out a ſmall party, as if deſigned to make themſelves maſters of the hill, but really to draw Minucius to diſpute it with them. The event anſwered his expectation. For Minucius ſent out his light armed troops firſt, then the cavalry, and at laſt, when he ſaw Hannibal ſend reinforcements to his men upon the hill, he marched out with all his forces in order of battle, and attacked with great vigor the Carthaginians, who were marking out a camp upon the hill. The fortune of the day was doubtful until Hannibal, perceiving that the enemy had fallen into the ſnare, and that their rear was open to the ambuſcade, inſtantly gave the ſignal. Hereupon, his men ruſhed out on all ſides, and advancing with loud ſhouts, and cutting in pieces the hindmoſt ranks, they put the Romans in diſorder and terror inexpreſſible. Even the ſpirit of Minucius

* About fifteen hundred paces from Fabius.

† Five hundred horſe and five thouſand foot. *Polyb.*

began to ſhrink; and he looked firſt upon one officer and then upon another, but not one of them durſt ſtand his ground; they all betook themſelves to flight, and the flight itſelf proved fatal. For the Numidians, now victorious, galloped round the plain, and killed thoſe whom they found diſperſed.

Fabius was not ignorant of the danger of his countrymen. Foreſeeing what would happen, he kept his forces under arms, and took care to be informed how the action went on; nor did he truſt to the reports of others, but he himſelf, looked out from an eminence not far from his camp. When he ſaw the army of his colleague ſurrounded and broken, and the cry reached him, not like that of men ſtanding the charge, but of perſons flying in great diſmay,* he ſmote upon his thigh, and with a deep ſigh ſaid to his friends about him, "Ye gods! how much ſooner than I expected, "and yet later than his indiſcreet proceedings required, "has Minucius ruined himſelf!" Then having commanded the ſtandard bearers to advance, and the whole army to follow, he addreſſed them in theſe words: "Now, "my brave ſoldiers, if any one has a regard for Marcus "Minucius, let him exert himſelf; for he deſerves aſſiſt-"ance for his valor and the love he bears his country. "If, in his haſte to drive out the enemy, he has committed "any error, this is not a time to find fault with him."

The firſt ſight of Fabius frightened away the Numidians who were picking up ſtragglers in the field. Then he attacked thoſe who were charging the Romans in the rear. Such as made reſiſtance he ſlew: but the greateſt part retreated to their own army, before the communication was cut off, leſt they ſhould themſelves be ſurrounded in their turn. Hannibal ſeeing this change of fortune, and finding that Fabius puſhed on through the hotteſt of the battle with a vigor above his years, to come up to Minucius upon the hill, put an end to the diſpute, and having ſounded a retreat, retired into his camp. The Romans, on their part, were not ſorry when the action was over. Hannibal, as he was drawing off, is reported to have ſaid ſmartly to thoſe that were by, "Did not I often tell you, that this cloud

* Homer mentions the cuſtom of ſmiting upon the thigh in time of trouble——Και ὁ πεπληγετο μηρω; and we learn from ſcrip- that it was practiſed in the eaſt.

Compare Hom. Il. μ. v. 162, and this paſſage of Plutrach with Jer. xxxi. 19. and Ezek. xxi. 12,

" would one day burſt upon us from the mountains, with " all the fury of a ſtorm ?"

After the battle, Fabius having collected the ſpoils of ſuch Carthaginians as were left dead upon the field, returned to his poſt; nor did he let fall one haughty or angry word againſt his colleague. As for Minucius, having called his men together, he thus expreſſed himſelf: " Friends and " fellow ſoldiers, not to err at all in the management of " great affairs, is above the wiſdom of men; but it is the " part of a prudent and good man, to learn from his er- " rors and miſcarriages, to correct himſelf for the future. " For my part, I confeſs, that though fortune has frowned " upon me a little, I have much to thank her for. For " what I could not be brought to be ſenſible of in ſo long " a time, I have learned in the ſmall compaſs of one day, " that I know not how to command, but have need to " be under the direction of another; and from this mo- " ment I bid adieu to the ambition of getting the better " of a man whom it is an honor to be foiled by. In all " other reſpects the dictator ſhall be your commander; " but in the due expreſſions of gratitude to him, I will be " your leader ſtill, by being the firſt to ſhow an example " of obedience and ſubmiſſion."

He then ordered the enſigns to advance with the eagles, and the troops to follow, himſelf marching at their head, to the camp of Fabius. Being admitted, he went directly to his tent. The whole army waited with impatience for the event. When Fabius came out, Minucius fixed his ſtandard before him, and with a loud voice ſaluted him by the name of *Father*; at the ſame time his ſoldiers, called thoſe of Fabius their *Patrons*; an appellation which freedmen give to thoſe that enfranchiſe them. Theſe reſpects being paid, and ſilence taking place, Minucius thus addreſſed himſelf to the dictator: " You have this day, Fabi- " us, obtained two victories, one over the enemy by your " valor, the other over your colleague by your prudence " and humanity. By the former you ſaved us, by the " latter you have inſtructed us; and Hannibal's victory " over us, is not more diſgraceful than yours is honorable " and ſalutary to us. I call you *Father*, not knowing a " more honorable name, and am more indebted to you " than to my real father. To him I owe my being, but " to you the preſervation of my life, and the lives of all " theſe brave men." After this, he threw himſelf into the

arms of Fabius, and the ſoldiers of each army embraced one another, with every expreſſion of tenderneſs, and with tears of joy.

Not long after this, Fabius laid down the dictatorſhip, and conſuls were created.* The firſt of theſe kept to the plan which Fabius had laid down. He took care not to come to a pitched battle with Hannibal, but ſent ſuccors to the allies of Rome, and prevented any revolt in their cities. But when Terentius Varro,† a man of obſcure birth, and remarkable only for his temerity and ſervile complaiſance to the people, roſe to the conſulſhip, it ſoon appeared that his boldneſs and inexperience would bring him to riſk the very being of the commonwealth. For he loudly inſiſted in the aſſemblies of the people, that the war ſtood ſtill whilſt it was under the conduct of the Fabii; but for his part he would take but one day to get ſight of the enemy, and to beat him. With theſe promiſes he ſo prevailed on the multitude, that he raiſed greater forces than Rome had ever had on foot before, in her moſt dangerous wars; for he muſtered‡ no fewer than eightyeight thouſand men. Hereupon Fabius, and other wiſe and experienced perſons among the Romans were greatly alarmed; becauſe they ſaw no reſource for the ſtate, if ſuch a number of their youths ſhould be cut off. They addreſſed themſelves, therefore, to the other conſul, Paulus Æmilius, a man of great experience in war, but diſagreeable to the people, and at the ſame time afraid of them, for they had formerly ſet a conſiderable fine upon him. Fabius, however, encouraged him to withſtand the temerity of his colleague, telling him, "That the diſpute he had to ſupport for his country was

* According to Livy, Fabius, after the ſix months of his dictatorſhip were expired, reſigned the army to the conſuls of that year, Servilius and Attilius; the latter having been appointed in the room of Flaminius, who was killed in battle. But Plutarch follows Polybius, who ſays, that as the time for the election of new conſuls approached, the Romans named L. Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro conſuls, after which the dictators reſigned their charge.

† Varro was the ſon of a butcher, and had followed his father's profeſſion in his youth; but, growing rich, he had forſaken that mean calling; and, by the favor of the people, procured by ſupporting the moſt turbulent of their tribunes, he obtained the conſulate.

‡ It was uſual with the Romans to muſter every year four legions, which conſiſting, in difficult times, each of five thouſand Roman foot, and three hundred horſe, and a battalion of Latins equal to that number, amounted in the whole to 42,400. But this year, inſtead of four legions, they raiſed eight.

" not ſo much with Hannibal as with Varro." "The " latter," ſaid he, "will haſten to an engagement,* be- " cauſe he knows not his own ſtrength; and the former " becauſe he knows his own weakneſs. But, believe me, " Æmilius, I deſerve more attention than Varro, with re- " ſpect to the affairs of Hannibal; and I do aſſure you, " that if the Romans come to no battle with him this year, " he will either be undone by his ſtay in Italy, or elſe be " obliged to quit it. Even now, when he ſeems to be " victorious, and to carry all before him, not one of his " enemies has quitted the Roman intereſt, and not a third " part of the forces remains which he brought from home " with him." To this Æmilius is ſaid to have anſwered, " My friend, when I conſider myſelf only, I conclude it " better for me to fall upon the weapons of the enemy, than " by the ſentence of my own countrymen. However, " ſince the ſtate of public affairs is ſo critical, I will en- " deavor to approve myſelf a good general, and had rather " appear ſuch to you, than to all who oppoſe you, and " who would draw me, willing or unwilling, to their party." With theſe ſentiments Æmilius began his operations.

But Varro, having brought his colleague to agree,† that they ſhould command alternately each his day, when his turn came, took poſt over againſt Hannibal, on the banks of the Aufidus, near the village of Cannæ.‡ As ſoon as it was light he gave the ſignal for battle, which is a red mantle ſet up over the general's tent. The Carthaginians were a little diſheartened at firſt, when they ſaw how daring the conſul was, and that his army was more than twice their number. But Hannibal having ordered them to arm; himſelf, with a few others, rode up to an eminence, to take

* The beſt dependence of Varro was, undoubtedly, to prolong the war, that Hannibal, who was already weakened, might wear himſelf out by degrees; and, for the ſame reaſon, it was Hannibal's buſineſs to fight.

† It was a fixed rule with the Romans, that the conſuls, when they went upon the ſame ſervice, ſhould have the command of the army by turns.

‡ Cannæ, according to Livy, Appian, and Florus, was only a poor village, which afterwards became famous on account of the battle fought near it; but Polybius, who lived near the time of the ſecond Punic war, ſtyles Cannæ a city; and adds, that it had been razed a year before the defeat of the Roman army. Silius Italicus agrees with Polybius. It was afterwards rebuilt; for Pliny ranks it among the cities of Apulia. The ruins of Cannæ are ſtill to be ſeen in the territory of Bari.

a view of the enemy now drawn up for battle. One Giſco, that accompanied him, a man of his own rank, happening to ſay, "The numbers of the enemy appeared to him "ſurpriſing." Hannibal replied, with a ſerious countenance, "There is another thing which has eſcaped "your obſervation, much more ſurpriſing than that." Upon his aſking what it was, "It is," ſaid he, "that "among ſuch numbers not one of them is named Giſco." The whole company were diverted with the humor of his obſervation; and as they returned to the camp, they told the jeſt to thoſe they met, ſo that the laugh became univerſal. At ſight of this the Carthaginians took courage, thinking it muſt proceed from the great contempt in which their general held the Romans, that he could jeſt and laugh in the face of danger.

In this battle Hannibal gave great proofs of generalſhip. In the firſt place, he took advantage of the ground, to poſt his men with their backs to the wind, which was then very violent and ſcorching, and drove from the dry plains, over the heads of the Carthaginians, clouds of ſand and duſt into the eyes and noſtrils of the Romans, ſo that they were obliged to turn away their faces, and break their ranks. In the next place, his troops were drawn up with ſuperior art. He placed the flower of them in the wings, and thoſe upon whom he had leſs dependence in the main corps, which was conſiderably more advanced than the wings. Then he commanded thoſe in the wings, that when the enemy had charged, and vigorouſly puſhed that advanced body, which he knew would give way, and open a paſſage for them to the very centre, and when the Romans by this means ſhould be far enough engaged within the two wings, they ſhould both on the right and left take them in flank, and endeavor to ſurround them.* This was the principal cauſe of the great carnage that followed. For the enemy preſſing upon Hannibal's front, which gave ground, the form of his army was changed into a half moon; and the officers of the ſelect troops cauſed the two points of the wings to join behind the Romans. Thus they were expoſed to the attacks of the Carthaginians on all ſides: an incredible ſlaughter followed; nor did any eſcape but the few that retreated before the main body was cloſed.

* Five hundred Numidians pretended to deſert to the Romans; but in the heat of the battle turned againſt them, and attacked them in the rear.

It is alſo ſaid, that a ſtrange and fatal accident happened to the Roman cavalry. For the horſe which Æmilius rode having received ſome hurt, threw him; and thoſe about him alighting to aſſiſt and defend the conſul on foot, the reſt of the cavalry ſeeing this, and taking it for a ſignal for them to do the ſame, all quitted their horſes and charged on foot. At ſight of this, Hannibal ſaid, "This pleaſes "me better that if they had been delivered to me bound "hand and foot." But the particulars may be found at large in the hiſtorians who have deſcribed this battle.

As to the conſuls, Varro eſcaped with a few horſe to Venutia; and Æmilius, covered with darts which ſtuck in his wounds, ſat down in anguiſh and deſpair, waiting for the enemy to deſpatch him. His head and his face were ſo disfigured and ſtained with blood, that it was not eaſy to know him; even his friends and ſervants paſſed by him without ſtopping. At laſt, Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of a *patrician* family, perceiving who he was, diſmounted, and entreated him to take his horſe, and ſave himſelf for the commonwealth, which had then more occaſion than ever for ſo good a conſul. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the offer; and, notwithſtanding the young man's tears, he obliged him to mount his horſe again. Then riſing up, and taking him by the hand, "Tell Fabius Maximus," ſaid he, "and, Lentulus, "do you yourſelf be witneſs,* that Paulus Æmilius fol- "lowed his directions to the laſt, and did not deviate in "the leaſt from the plan agreed upon between them, but "was firſt overcome by Varro, and then by Hannibal." Having deſpatched Lentulus with this commiſſion, he ruſhed among the enemy's ſwords, and was ſlain. Fifty thouſand Romans are ſaid to have fallen in this battle,† and four thouſand to have been taken priſoners, beſide ten thouſand that were taken after the battle in both the camps.

* Και γεια μαρτυς αυτος.—

† According to Livy, there were killed of the Romans only forty thouſand foot, and two thouſand ſeven hundred horſe. Polybius ſays, that ſeventy thouſand were killed. The loſs of the Carthaginians did not amount to ſix thouſand.

When the Carthaginians were ſtripping the dead, among other moving objects, they found, to their great ſurpriſe, a Numidian yet alive, lying under the dead body of a Roman, who had thrown himſelf headlong on his enemy, and beat him down; but being no longer able to make uſe of his weapons, becauſe he had loſt his hands, had torn off the noſe and ears of the Numidian with his teeth, and in that fit of rage expired.

After this great ſucceſs, Hannibal's friends adviſed him to purſue his fortune, and to enter Rome along with the fugitives, aſſuring him that in five days he might ſup in the Capitol. It is not eaſy to conjecture what his reaſon was for not taking this ſtep. Moſt probably ſome deity oppoſed it, and therefore inſpired him with this heſitation and timidity. On this account it was that a Carthaginian, named Barca, ſaid to him with ſome heat, "Hannibal, "you know how to gain a victory, but not how to uſe it."*

The battle of Cannæ, however, made ſuch an alteration in his affairs, that though before it he had neither town, nor magazine, nor port in Italy, but, without any regular ſupplies for the war, ſubſiſted his army by rapine, and for that purpoſe moved them, like a great band of robbers, from place to place, yet then he became maſter of the greateſt part of Italy: Its beſt provinces and towns voluntarily ſubmitted to him, and Capua itſelf, the moſt reſpectable city after Rome, threw its weight into his ſcale.

In this caſe it appeared that great misfortunes are not only, what Euripides calls them, a trial of the fidelity of a friend, but of the capacity and conduct of a general. For the proceedings of Fabius, which before this battle were deemed cold and timid, then appeared to be directed by counſels more than human, to be indeed the dictates of a divine wiſdom, which penetrated into futurity at ſuch a diſtance, and foreſaw what ſeemed incredible to the very perſons who experienced it. In him, therefore, Rome places her laſt hope; his judgment is the temple, the altar, to which ſhe flies for refuge, believing that to his prudence it was chiefly owing that ſhe ſtill held up her head, and that her children were not diſperſed, as when ſhe was taken by the Gauls. For he, who in times of apparent ſecurity,

* Zonarus tells us, that Hannibal himſelf afterwards acknowledged his miſtake in not purſuing that day's ſucceſs, and uſed often to cry out, O Cannæ, Cannæ!

But, on the other hand, it may be pleaded in defence of Hannibal, that the advantages he had gained were chiefly owing to his cavalry, who could not act in a ſiege: That the inhabitants of Rome were all bred up to arms from their infancy; would uſe their utmoſt efforts in defence of their wives, their children, and their domeſtic gods; and, when ſheltered by walls and ramparts, would probably be invincible: That they had as many generals as ſenators: That no one nation of Italy had yet declared for him, and he might judge it neceſſary to gain ſome of them before he attempted the capital; and laſtly, that if he had attempted the capital firſt, and without ſucceſs, he would not have been able to again any one nation or city.

ſeemed to be deficient in confidence and reſolution, now when all abandoned themſelves to inexpreſſible ſorrow and helpleſs deſpair, alone walked about the city with a calm and eaſy pace, with a firm countenance, a mild and gracious addreſs, checking their effeminate lamentations, and preventing them from aſſembling in public to bewail their common diſtreſs. He cauſed the ſenate to meet; he encouraged the magiſtrates, himſelf being the ſoul of their body, for all waited his motion, and were ready to obey his orders. He placed a guard at the gates, to hinder ſuch of the people as were inclined to fly, from quitting the city. He fixed both the place and time for mourning, allowed thirty days for that purpoſe in a man's own houſe, and no more for the city in general. And as the feaſt of Ceres fell within that time, it was thought better entirely to omit the ſolemnity, than by the ſmall numbers and the melancholy looks of thoſe that ſhould attend it, to diſcover the greatneſs of their loſs;* for the worſhip moſt acceptable to the gods is that which comes from cheerful hearts. Indeed whatever the agurs ordered for propitiating the divine powers, and averting inauſpicious omens, was carefully performed. For Fabius Pictor, the near relation of Fabius Maximus, was ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphi; and of the two veſtals who were then found guilty of a breach of their vow of chaſtity, one was buried alive, according to cuſtom, and the other died by her own hand.

But what moſt deſerves to be admired, is the magnanimity and temper of the Romans, when the conſul Varro returned after his defeat,† much humbled and very melancholy, as one who had occaſioned the greateſt calamity and diſgrace imaginable to the republic. The whole

* This was not the real cauſe of deferring the feſtival, but that which Plutarch hints at juſt after, viz. becauſe it was unlawful for perſons in mourning to celebrate it; and at that time there was not one matron in Rome who was not in mourning. In fact, the feaſt was not entirely omitted, but kept as ſoon as the mourning was expired.

† Valerius Maximus tells us (lib. iii. c. 6.) that the ſenate and people offered Varro the dictatorſhip, which he refuſed, and by his modeſt refuſal wiped off, in ſome meaſure, the ſhame of his former behavior. Thus the Romans, by treating their unfortunate commanders with humanity, leſſened the diſgrace of their being vanquiſhed or diſcharged; while the Carthaginians condemned their generals to cruel deaths upon their being overcome, though it was often without their own fault.

ſenate and people went to welcome him at the gates; and, when ſilence was commanded, the magiſtrates and principal ſenators, amongſt whom was Fabius, commended him for not giving up the circumſtances of the ſtate as deſperate after ſo great a misfortune, but returning to take upon him the adminiſtration, and to make what advantage he could for his country of the laws and citizens, as not being utterly loſt and ruined.

When they found that Hannibal, after the battle, inſtead of marching to Rome, turned to another part of Italy, they took courage, and ſent their armies and generals into the field. The moſt eminent of theſe were Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men diſtinguiſhed by characters almoſt entirely oppoſite. Marcellus (as we have mentioned in his life) was a man of a buoyant and animated valor; remarkably well ſkilled in the uſe of weapons, and naturally enterpriſing; ſuch an one, in ſhort, as Homer calls *lofty in heart, in courage fierce, in war delighting*. So intrepid a general was very fit to be oppoſed to an enemy as daring as himſelf, to reſtore the courage and ſpirits of the Romans, by ſome vigorous ſtroke in the firſt engagements. As for Fabius, he kept to his firſt ſentiments, and hoped, that if he only followed Hannibal cloſe, without fighting him, he and his army would wear themſelves out, and loſe their warlike vigor, juſt as a wreſtler does who keeps continually in the ring, and allows himſelf no repoſe, to recruit his ſtrength after exceſſive fatigues. Hence it was that the Romans (as Poſidonius tells us) called Fabius *their ſhield* and Marcellus *their ſword*, and uſed to ſay, that the ſteadineſs and caution of the one, mixed with the vivacity and boldneſs of the other, made a compound very ſalutary to Rome. Hannibal, therefore, often meeting Marcellus, whoſe motions were like thoſe of a torrent, found his forces broken and diminiſhed, and by Fabius, who moved with a ſilent but conſtant ſtream, he was undermined and inſenſibly weakened. Such at length, was the extremity he was reduced to, that he was tired of fighting Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius. And theſe were the perſons he had generally to dō with during the remainder of the war, as prætors, conſuls, or proconſuls; for each of them was five times conſul. It is true, Marcellus, in his fifth conſulate, was drawn into his ſnares, and killed by means of an ambuſcade. Hannibal often made the like attempts upon Fabius, exerting all his arts and ſtratagems, but without effect. Once only he deceived him, and had nearly led

im into a fatal error. He forged letters to him, as from he principal inhabitants of Metapontum, offering to de- ver up the city to him, and aſſuring him that thoſe who ad taken this reſolution, only waited till he appeared efore it. Fabius giving credit to theſe letters, ordered a arty to be ready, intending to march thither in the night; ut finding the auſpices unpromiſing, he altered his deſign, nd ſoon after diſcovered that the letters were forged by n artifice of Hannibal's, and that he was lying in ambuſh or him near the town. But this perhaps may be aſcribed o the favor and protection of the gods.

Fabius was perſuaded that it was better to keep the cit- s from revolting, and to prevent any commotions among he allies, by affability and mildneſs, than to entertain ev- ry ſuſpicion, or to uſe ſeverity againſt thoſe whom he did uſpect. It is reported of him, that being informed, that certain Marcian in his army,* who was a man not infe- ior in courage or family to any among the allies, ſolicited ome of his men to deſert, he did not treat him harſhly, ut acknowledged that he had been too much neglected; eclaring at the ſame time, that he was now perfectly ſen- ible how much his officers had been to blame in diſtri- uting honors more out of favor than regard to merit; nd that for the future he ſhould take it ill if he did not pply to *him* when he had any requeſt to make. This was ollowed with a preſent of a war horſe, and with other narks of honor; and from that time the man behaved ith great fidelity and zeal for the ſervice. Fabius thought t hard, that, while thoſe who breed dogs and horſes ſoften heir ſtubborn tempers, and bring down their fierce ſpirits y care and kindneſs, rather than with whips and chains, e who has the command of men ſhould not endeavor to orrect their errors by gentleneſs and goodneſs, but treat hem even in a harſher and more violent manner than gar- eners do the wild fig trees, wild pears and olives, whoſe ature they ſubdue by cultivation, and which by that eans they bring to produce very agreeable fruit.

Another time ſome of his officers informed him, that ne of the ſoldiers, a native of Lucania, often quitted his oſt, and rambled out of the camp. Upon this report, he ked what kind of a man he was in other reſpects; and they ll declared it was not eaſy to find ſo good a ſoldier, doing

* Livy tells this ſtory of Marcellus, which Plutarch here applies Fabius.

him the juſtice to mention ſeveral extraordinary inſtances of his valor. On inquiring into the cauſe of this irregularity, he found that the man was paſſionately in love, and that for the ſake of ſeeing a young woman he ventured out of the camp, and took a long and dangerous journey every night. Hereupon Fabius gave orders to ſome of his men to find out the woman, and convey her into his own tent, but took care that the Lucanian ſhould not know it. Then he ſent for him, and taking him aſide, ſpoke to him as follows: "I very well know that you "have lain many nights out of the camp, in breach of "the Roman diſcipline and laws; at the ſame time I am "not ignorant of your paſt ſervices. In conſideration of "them I forgive your preſent crime; but for the future "I will give you in charge to a perſon who ſhall be an-"ſwerable for you." While the ſoldier ſtood much amazed, Fabius produced the woman, and putting her in his hands, thus expreſſed himſelf: "This is the per-"ſon who engages for you that you will remain in camp; "and now we ſhall ſee whether there was not ſome trai-"torous deſign which drew you out, and which you "made the love of this woman a cloak for." Such is the account we have of this affair.

By means of another love affair, Fabius recovered the city of Tarentum, which had been treacherouſly delivered up to Hannibal. A young man, a native of that place, who ſerved under Fabius, had a ſiſter there who loved him with great tenderneſs. This youth being informed, that a certain Brutian,* one of the officers of the garriſon which Hannibal had put in Tarentum, entertained a violent paſſion for his ſiſter, hoped to avail himſelf of this circumſtance to the advantage of the Romans. Therefore, with the permiſſion of Fabius, he returned to his ſiſter at Tarentum, under color of having deſerted. Some days paſſed, during which the Brutian forbore his viſits, for ſhe ſuppoſed that her brother knew nothing of the amour. This obliged the young man to come to an explanation. "It has been cur-"rently reported (ſaid he) that you receive addreſſes from "a man of ſome diſtinction. Pray, who is he? If he is a "man of honor and character, as they ſay he is, Mars, "who confounds all things, takes but little thought of "what country he may be. What neceſſity impoſes is no "diſgrace; but we may rather think ourſelves fortunate,

* των τεταγμενων ὑπ' Αννίβου την πολιν φρουρειν εῤ' ἡγεμονιας.

"at a time when juſtice yields to force, if that which force "might compel us to, happens not to be diſagreeable to "our own inclinations." Thus encouraged, the young woman ſent for the Brutian, and preſented him to her brother. And as ſhe behaved to him in a kinder and more complying manner, through her brother's means, who was very indulgent to his paſſion, it was not very difficult to prevail with the Brutian, who was deeply in love, and was withal a mercenary,* to deliver up the town, upon promiſes of great rewards from Fabius.

This is the account which moſt hiſtorians give us; yet ſome ſay, that the woman by whom the Brutian was gained, was not a Tarentine, but a Brutian; that ſhe had been concubine to Fabius, and that when ſhe found the governor of Tarentum was her countryman and acquaintance, ſhe told Fabius of it, and finding means, by approaching the walls, to make him a propoſal, ſhe drew him over to the Roman intereſt.

During theſe tranſactions, Fabius, in order to make a diverſion, gave directions to the garriſon of Rhegium, to lay waſte the Brutian territories, and, if poſſible, to make themſelves maſters of Caulonia. Theſe were a body of eight thouſand men, compoſed partly of deſerters, and partly of the moſt worthleſs of that infamous band brought by Marcellus out of Sicily,† and therefore the loſs of them would not be great, nor much lamented by the Romans. Theſe men he threw out as a bait for Hannibal, and by ſacrificing them, hoped to draw him to a diſtance from Tarentum. The deſign ſucceeded accordingly; for Hannibal marched with his forces to Caulonia, and Fabius in the mean time laid ſiege to Tarentum. The ſixth day of the ſiege, the young man having ſettled the matter with the Brutian officer, by means of his ſiſter, and having well obſerved the place where he kept guard, and promiſed to let in the Romans, went to Fabius by night, and gave him an account of it. The conſul moved to the appointed quarter, though not entirely depending upon the promiſe that the

* ανδρωπω μισθοφορω——. This has been miſtranſlated *a man of a mercenary diſpoſition.* The words only import that he was not of Hannibal's own troops, but of the mercenaries. Hence all governments ſhould learn to beware how they intruſt their towns with garriſons of hired troops and ſtrangers.

† Theſe men were brought from Sicily, not by Marcellus, but by his colleague Lævinus.

town would be betrayed. There he himſelf ſat ſtill, but at the ſame time ordered an aſſault on every other part, both by ſea and land. This was put in execution with great noiſe and tumult, which drew moſt of the Tarentines that way, to aſſiſt the garriſon, and repel the beſiegers. Then the Brutian giving Fabius the ſignal, he ſcaled the walls, and got poſſeſſion of the town.

On this occaſion Fabius ſeems to have indulged a criminal ambition.* For that it might not appear that the place was betrayed to him, he ordered the Brutians to be put firſt to the ſword. But he failed in his deſign; for the former ſuſpicion ſtill remained, and he incurred, beſides, the reproach of perfidy and inhumanity. Many of the Tarentines alſo were killed; thirty thouſand of them were ſold for ſlaves; the army had the plunder of the town, and three thouſand talents were brought into the public treaſury. Whilſt every thing was ranſacked, and the ſpoils were heaped before Fabius, it is reported that the officer who took the inventory, aſked, "What he would "have them do with the gods?" meaning the ſtatues and pictures: Fabius anſwered, "Let us leave the Tarentines "their angry gods."† However, he carried away a *coloſſus* of Hercules, which he afterwards ſet up in the capitol, and near it an equeſtrian ſtatue of himſelf in braſs.‡ Thus he ſhowed himſelf inferior to Marcellus in his taſte for the fine arts, and ſtill more ſo in mercy and humanity. Marcellus is this reſpect had greatly the advantage, as we have already obſerved in his life.

Hannibal had haſtened to the relief of Tarentum, and being within five miles of it, when it was taken, he ſcrupled not to ſay publicly, "The Romans, too, have their "Hannibal; for we have loſt Tarentum in the ſame "manner that we gained it." And, in private, he then firſt acknowledged to his friends, "That he had always "thought it difficult, but now ſaw it was impoſſible, "with the forces he had, to conquer Italy."

* Livy does not ſay that Fabius gave ſuch orders. He only ſays, "There were many Brutians ſlain, either through ignorance, or "through the ancient hatred which the Romans bore them, or be-"cauſe the Romans were deſirous that Tarentum ſhould ſeem to "be taken ſword in hand, rather than betrayed to them."

† The gods were in the attitude of combatants; and they appeared to have fought againſt the Tarentines.

‡ The work of Lyſippus.

Fabius for this was honored with a triumph more ſplendid than the former, having glorioufly maintained the field againſt Hannibal, and baffled all his ſchemes with eaſe, juſt as an able wreſtler diſengages himſelf from the arms of his antagoniſt, whoſe graſp no longer retains the ſame vigor. For Hannibal's army was now partly enervated with opulence and luxury, and partly impaired and worn out with continual action.

Marcus Livius, who commanded in Tarentum, when it was betrayed to Hannibal, retired into the citadel, and held it till the town was retaken by the Romans. This officer beheld with pain the honors conferred upon Fabius, and one day his envy and vanity drew from him this expreſſion in the ſenate: "I, not Fabius, was the cauſe of recovering "Tarentum." "True," ſaid Fabius, laughing, "for if "you had not loſt the town, I had never recovered it."

Among other honors which the Romans paid to Fabius they elected his ſon conſul.* When he had entered upon his office, and was ſettling ſome point relating to the war, the father, either on account of his age and infirmities, or elſe to try his ſon, mounted his horſe, to ride up to him. The young conſul, ſeeing him at a diſtance, would not ſuffer it, but ſent one of the *lictors* to his father, with orders for him to diſmount, and to come on foot to the conſul, if he had any occaſion to apply to him. The whole aſſembly were moved at this, and caſt their eyes upon Fabius, by their ſilence and their looks expreſſing their reſentment of the indignity offered to a perſon of his character. But he inſtantly alighted, and ran to his ſon, and embraced him with great tenderneſs. "My ſon," ſaid he, "I applaud your "ſentiments and your behavior. You know what a "people you command, and have a juſt ſenſe of the dignity "of your office. This was the way that we and our fore-"fathers took to advance Rome to her preſent height of "glory, always conſidering the honor and intereſt of our "country before that of our own fathers and children."

And indeed it is reported that the great grandfather of our Fabius,† though he was one of the greateſt men in Rome, whether we conſider his reputation or authority, though he had been five times conſul, and had been honored with ſeveral glorious triumphs on account of his

* The ſon was elected conſul four years before the father took Tarentum.

† Fabius Rullus.

ſucceſs in wars of the laſt importance, yet condeſcended to ſerve as lieutenant to his ſon, then conſul,* in an expedition againſt the Samnites; and while his ſon in the triumph which was decreed him, drove into Rome in a chariot and four, he, with others, followed him on horſeback. Thus while he had authority over his ſon, conſidered as a private man, and while he was,† both eſpecially and reputedly the moſt conſiderable member of the commonwealth, yet he gloried in ſhowing his ſubjection to the laws and to the magiſtrate. Nor was this the only part of his character that deſerves to be admired.

When Fabius Maximus had the misfortune to loſe his ſon, he bore that loſs with great moderation, as became a wiſe man and a good father; and the funeral oration,‡ which on occaſion of the deaths of illuſtrious men, is uſually pronounced by ſome near kinſman, he delivered himſelf; and having committed it to writing, made it public.

When Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was ſent proconſul into Spain, had defeated the Carthaginians in many battles, and driven them out of that province; and when he had, moreover, reduced ſeveral towns and nations under the obedience of Rome, on returning loaded with ſpoil, he was received with great acclamations and general joy. Being appointed conſul, and finding that the people expected ſomething great and ſtriking at his hands, he conſidered it as an antiquated method, and worthy only of the inactivity of an old man, to watch the motions of Hannibal in Italy; and therefore determined to remove the ſeat of war from thence into Africa, to fill the enemy's country with his legions, to extend his ravages far and wide, and to attempt Carthage itſelf. With this view, he exerted all his talents to bring the people into his deſign. But Fabius, on this occaſion, filled the city with alarms, as if the commonwealth was going to be brought into the moſt extreme danger, by a raſh and indiſcreet young man; in ſhort, he

* Fabius Gurges, who had been defeated by the Samnites, and would have been degraded, had not his father promiſed to attend him in his ſecond expedition as his lieutenant.

† ——καὶ ὢν, προσαγορευόμενος——

‡ Cicero, in his treatiſe on old age, ſpeaks, in high terms, both of Fabius and this oration of his: "Many extraordinary things have "I known in that man, but nothing more admirable than the man-"ner in which he bore the death of his ſon a perſon of great me-"rit, and of conſular dignity. His eulogium is in our hands; and "while we read it, do we not look down on the beſt of the "philoſophers?"

ſcrupled not to do or ſay any thing he thought likely to diſſuade his countrymen from embracing the propoſal. With the ſenate he carried his point.* But the people believed that his oppoſition to Scipio proceeded either from envy of his ſucceſs, or from a ſecret fear that if this young hero ſhould perform ſome ſignal exploit, put an end to the war, or even remove it out of Italy, his own ſlow proceedings through the courſe of ſo many years might be imputed to indolence or timidity.

To me Fabius ſeems at firſt to have oppoſed the meaſures of Scipio, from an exceſs of caution and prudence, and to have really thought the danger attending his project great; but in the progreſs of the oppoſition I think he went too great lengths, miſled by ambition and a jealouſy of Scipio's riſing glory. For he applied to Craſſus, the colleague of Scipio, and endeavored to perſuade him not to yield that province to Scipio, but, if he thought it proper to conduct the war in that manner, to go himſelf againſt Carthage.† Nay, he even hindered the raiſing of money for that expedition; ſo that Scipio was obliged to find the ſupplies as he could; and he effected it through his intereſt with the cities of Hetruria, which were wholly devoted to him.‡ As for Craſſus, he ſtayed at home, partly induced to it by his diſpoſition, which was mild and peaceful, and partly by the care of religion, which was intruſted to him as high prieſt.

Fabius, therefore, took another method to traverſe the deſign. He endeavored to prevent the young men who offered to go volunteers, from giving in their names, and loudly declared both in the ſenate and *forum*, "That Scipio "did not only himſelf avoid Hannibal, but intended to "carry away with him the remaining ſtrength of Italy, "perſuading the young men to abandon their parents, "their wives, and native city, whilſt an unſubdued and "potent enemy was ſtill at their doors." With theſe aſ-

* See the debates in the ſenate on that occaſion, in Livy, ab. xxviii.

† This Craſſus could not do; for being *Pontifex Maximus*, it was neceſſary that he ſhould remain in Italy.

‡ Scipio was empowered to aſk of the allies all things neceſſary for building and equipping a new fleet. And many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themſelves to furniſh him with corn, iron, timber, cloth for ſails, &c. ſo that in forty days after the cutting of the timber, he was in a condition to ſet ſail with a fleet of thirty new galleys, beſides the thirty he had before. There went with him about ſeven thouſand volunteers.

ſertions he ſo terrified the people, that they allowed Scipio to take with him only the legions that were in Sicily, and three hundred of thoſe men who had ſerved him with ſo much fidelity in Spain. In this particular Fabius ſeems to have followed the dictates of his own cautious temper.

After Scipio was gone over into Africa, an account was ſoon brought to Rome of his glorious and wonderful achievements. This account was followed by rich ſpoils, which confirmed it. A Numidian king was taken priſoner; two camps were burnt and deſtroyed, and in them a vaſt number of men, arms, and horſes; and the Carthaginians ſent orders to Hannibal to quit his fruitleſs hopes in Italy, and return home to defend his own country. Whilſt every tongue was applauding theſe exploits of Scipio, Fabius propoſed that his ſucceſſor ſhould be appointed, without any ſhadow of reaſon for it, except what this well known maxim implies, *viz.* "That it is dangerous to truſt "affairs of ſuch importance to the fortune of one man, "becauſe it is not likely that he will always be ſucceſsful."

By this he offended the people, who now conſidered him as a captious and envious man; or as one whoſe courage and hopes were loſt in the dregs of years, and who therefore looked upon Hannibal as much more formidable than he really was. Nay, even when Hannibal embarked his army and quitted Italy, Fabius ceaſed not to diſturb the general joy and to damp the ſpirits of Rome. For he took the liberty to affirm, "That the commonwealth was now come "to her laſt and worſt trial; that ſhe had the moſt reaſon "to dread the efforts of Hannibal when he ſhould arrive "in Africa, and attack her ſons under the walls of Car"thage; that Scipio would have to do with an army yet "warm with the blood of ſo many Roman generals, dic"tators, and conſuls." The city was alarmed with theſe declamations, and though the war was removed into Africa, the danger ſeemed to approach nearer Rome than ever.

However, ſoon after, Scipio defeated Hannibal in a pitched battle, pulled down the pride of Carthage and trode it under foot. This afforded the Romans a pleaſure beyond all their hopes, and reſtored a firmneſs to their empire, which had been ſhaken by ſo many tempeſts. But Fabius Maximus did not live to the end of the war, to hear of the overthrow of Hannibal, or to ſee the proſperity of his country reeſtabliſhed; for about the time that Hannibal left Italy, he fell ſick and died. We are aſſured,

that Epaminondas died ſo poor, that the Thebans buried him at the public charge; for at his death nothing was found in his houſe but an iron ſpit.* The expenſe of Fabius's funeral was not indeed defrayed out of the Roman treaſury, but every citizen contributed a ſmall piece of money towards it; not that he died without effects, but that they might bury him as the father of the people; and that the honors paid him at his death might be ſuitable to the dignity of his life.

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS,

COMPARED.

SUCH were the lives of thoſe two perſons, ſo illuſtrious and worthy of imitation both in their civil and military capacity.† We ſhall firſt compare their talents for war. And here it ſtrikes us at once, that Pericles came into power at a time when the Athenians were at the height of proſperity, great in themſelves, and reſpectable to their neighbors; ſo that in the very ſtrength of the republic, with only common ſucceſs, he was ſecure from taking any diſgraceful ſtep. But as Fabius came to the helm, when Rome experienced the worſt and moſt mortifying turn of fortune, he had not to preſerve the well eſtabliſhed proſperity of a flouriſhing ſtate, but to draw his country from an abyſs of miſery, and raiſe it to happineſs. Beſides, the ſucceſſes of Cimon, the victories of Myronides and Leocrates, and the many great achievements of Tolmides, rather furniſhed occaſion to Pericles, during his adminiſtration, to entertain the city with feaſts and games,‡ than to make new acquiſitions, or to defend the old ones by arms. On the other hand, Fabius had the frightful objects before his eyes of defeat, and diſgraces, of Roman conſuls and generals ſlain, of lakes, fields, and foreſts full of the dead carcaſes of whole armies, and of rivers flowing with

* Xylander is of opinion, that the word Οβελισκος in this place does not ſignify a *ſpit*, but a *piece of money*; and he ſhows from a paſſage in the life of Lylander, that money anciently was made in a pyramidical form. But he did not conſider that iron money was not in uſe at Thebes, and Plutarch ſays that this obeliſcus was of iron.

† Πολλα και καλα παραδειγματα καταλειλοιπασιν—

‡ ἡ ητησασθαι πολεμω και φυλαξασθαι—

blood down to the very ſea. In this tottering and decayed condition of the commonwealth, he was to ſupport it by his councils and his vigor, and to keep it from falling into abſolute ruin, to which it was brought ſo near by the errors of former commanders.

It may ſeem, indeed, a leſs arduous performance to manage the tempers of a people humbled by calamities, and compelled by neceſſity to liſten to reaſon, than to reſtrain the wildneſs and inſolence of a city elated with ſucceſs, and wanton with power, ſuch as Athens was when Pericles held the reins of government. But then, undauntedly to keep to his firſt reſolutions, and not to be diſcompoſed by the vaſt weight of misfortunes with which Rome was then oppreſſed, diſcovers in Fabius an admirable firmneſs and dignity of mind.

Againſt the taking of Samos by Pericles, we may ſet the retaking of Tarentum by Fabius; and with Eubœa we may put in balance the towns of Campania. As for Capua, it was recovered afterwards by the conſuls Furius and Appius. Fabius indeed gained but one ſet battle, for which he had his firſt triumph; whereas Pericles erected nine trophies for as many victories won by land and ſea. But none of the victories of Pericles can be compared with that memorable reſcue of Minucius, by which Fabius redeemed him and his whole army from utter deſtruction; an action truly great, and in which you find at once the bright aſſemblage of valor, of prudence, and humanity. Nor can Pericles, on the other hand, be ſaid ever to have committed ſuch an error as that of Fabius, when he ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed on by Hannibal's ſtratagem of the oxen; let his enemy ſlip in the night through thoſe ſtraits in which he had been entangled by accident, and where he could not poſſibly have forced his way out; and as ſoon as it was day, ſaw himſelf repulſed by the man who ſo lately was at his mercy.

If it is the part of a good general, not only to make a proper uſe of the preſent, but alſo to form the beſt judgment of things to come, it muſt be allowed that Pericles both foreſaw and foretold what ſucceſs the Athenians would have in the war, namely, that they would ruin themſelves by graſping at too much. But it was entirely againſt the opinion of Fabius, that the Romans ſent Scipio into Africa, and yet they were victorious there, not by the favor of fortune, but by the courage and conduct of their general.

So that the misfortunes of his country bore witneſs to the ſagacity of Pericles, and from the glorious ſucceſs of the Romans it appeared that Fabius was utterly miſtaken. And, indeed, it is an equal fault in a commander in chief to loſe an advantage through diffidence, and to fall into danger for want of foreſight. For it is the ſame want of judgment and ſkill,* that ſometimes produces too much confidence, and ſometimes leaves too little. Thus far concerning their abilities in war.

And if we conſider them in their political capacity, we ſhall find that the greateſt fault laid to the charge of Pericles, was, that he cauſed the Peloponneſian war; through oppoſition to the Lacedæmonians, which made him unwilling to give up the leaſt point to them. I do not ſuppoſe, that Fabius Maximus would have given up any point to the Carthaginians, but that he would generouſly have run the laſt riſk to maintain the dignity of Rome.

The mild and moderate behavior of Fabius to Minucius, ſets in a very diſadvantageous light the conduct of Pericles, in his implacable perſecution of Cimon and Thucydides, valuable men, and friends to the ariſtocracy, and yet baniſhed by his practices and intrigues.

Beſides, the power of Pericles was much greater than that of Fabius; and therefore he did not ſuffer any misfortune to be brought upon Athens by the wrong meaſures of other generals. Tolmides only carried it againſt him for attacking the Bœotians, and in doing it, he was defeated and ſlain. All the reſt adhered to his party, and ſubmitted to his opinion, on account of his ſuperior authority; whereas Fabius, whoſe meaſures were ſalutary and ſafe, as far as they depended upon himſelf, appears only to have fallen ſhort, by his inability to prevent the miſcarriages of others. For the Romans would not have had ſo many misfortunes to deplore, if the power of Fabius had been as great in Rome as that of Pericles in Athens.

As to their liberality and public ſpirit, Pericles ſhowed it in refuſing the ſums that were offered him, and Fabius in ranſoming his ſoldiers with his own money. This indeed was no great expenſe, being only about ſix talents.† But

* This ἀπειρία ſignifies, as well as *inexperience*. Fabius had as much experience as Pericles, and yet was not equally happy in his conjectures with regard to future events.

† Probably this is an error of the tranſcribers. For Fabius was to pay two hundred and fifty drachmas for each priſoner, and he ran-

it is not eaſy to ſay what a treaſure Pericles might have amaſſed from the allies, and from kings who made their court to him, on account of his great authority; yet no man ever kept himſelf more free from corruption.

As for the temples, the public edifices, and other works, with which Pericles adorned Athens, all the ſtructures of that kind in Rome put together, until the times of the Cæſars, deſerved not to be compared with them, either in the greatneſs of the deſign, or the excellence of the execution.

ALCIBIADES.

THOSE that have ſearched into the pedigree of Alcibiades, ſay, that Euryſaces, the ſon of Ajax, was founder of the family; and that by his mother's ſide he was deſcended from Alcmæon; for Dinomache, his mother, was the daughter of Megacles, who was of that line. His father Clinias gained great honor in the ſea fight of Artemiſium, where he fought in a galley fitted out at his own expenſe, and afterwards was ſlain in the battle of Coronæ, where the Bœotians won the day. Pericles and Ariphron, the ſons of Xanthippus, and near relations to Alcibiades, were his guardians. It is ſaid (and not without reaſon) that the affection and attachment of Socrates contributed much to his fame. For Nicias, Demoſthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thraſybulus, Theramenes, were illuſtrious perſons, and his cotemporaries, yet we do not ſo much as know the name of the mother of either of them; whereas we know even the nurſe of Alcibiades, that ſhe was of Lacedæmon, and that her name was Amycla; as well as that Zopyrus was his ſchoolmaſter; the one being recorded by Antiſthenes, and the other by Plato.

As to the beauty of Alcibiades, it may be ſufficient to ſay, that it retained its charm through the ſeveral ſtages of childhood, youth, and manhood. For it is not univerſally true what Euripides ſays,

> The very autumn of a form once fine
> Retains its beauties.

ſomed two hundred and fortyſeven; which would ſtand him ſixtyone thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty drachmas, that is, more than ten talents. A very conſiderable expenſe to Fabius, which he could not anſwer without ſelling his eſtate.

Yet this was the caſe of Alcibiades, amongſt a few others, by reaſon of his natural vigor and happy conſtitution.

He had a liſping in his ſpeech, which became him, and gave a grace and perſuaſive turn to his diſcourſe. Ariſtophanes, in thoſe verſes wherein he ridicules Theorus, takes notice, that Alcibiades liſped, for inſtead of calling him Corax, *Raven*, he called him Colax, *Flatterer*; from whence the poet takes occaſion to obſerve, that the term in that liſping pronunciation, too, was very applicable to him. With this agrees the ſatirical deſcription which Archippus gives of the ſon of Alcibiades.

> With ſaunt'ring ſtep, to imitate his father,
> The vain youth moves; his looſe robe wildly floats;
> He bends the neck; he liſps.

His manners were far from being uniform; nor is it ſtrange, that they varied according to the many viciſſitudes and wonderful turns of his fortune. He was naturally a man of ſtrong paſſions; but his ruling paſſion was an ambition to contend and overcome. This appears from what is related of his ſayings when a boy. When hard preſſed in wreſtling, to prevent his being thrown, he bit the hands of his antagoniſt; who let go his hold, and ſaid, "You bite, Alci-"biades, like a woman." "No," ſays he, "like a lion."

One day he was playing at dice with other boys in the ſtreet; and when it came to his turn to throw, a loaded waggon came up. At firſt he called to the driver to ſtop, becauſe he was to throw in the way over which the waggon was to paſs. The ruſtic diſregarding him and driving on, the other boys broke way; but Alcibiades threw himſelf upon his face directly before the waggon, and ſtretching himſelf out, bade the fellow drive on if he pleaſed. Upon this, he was ſo ſtartled, that he ſtopped his horſes, while thoſe that ſaw it, ran up to him with terror.

In the courſe of his education, he willingly took the leſſons of his other maſters, but refuſed learning to play upon the flute, which he looked upon as a mean art, and unbecoming a gentleman. "The uſe of the *plectrum* upon "the lyre, he would ſay, has nothing in it that diſorders "the features or form, but a man is hardly to be known "by his moſt intimate friends when he plays upon the "flute. Beſides, the lyre does not hinder the performer "from ſpeaking or accompanying it with a ſong, whereas "the flute ſo engages the mouth and the breath, that it

"leaves no poſſibility of ſpeaking. Therefore, let the "Theban youth pipe, who know not how to diſcourſe; "but we Athenians, according to the account of our an- "ceſtors, have Minerva for our patroneſs, and Apollo for "our protector, one of whom threw away the flute, and "the other ſtripped off the man's ſkin, who played upon "it."* Thus, partly by raillery, and partly by argument, Alcibiades kept both himſelf and others from learning to play upon the flute; for it ſoon became the talk among the young men of condition, that Alcibiades was right in holding that art in abomination, and ridiculing thoſe that practiſed it. Thus it loſt its place in the number of liberal accompliſhments, and was univerſally exploded.

In the invective which Antipho wrote againſt Alcibiades, one ſtory is, that when a boy, he ran away from his guardians to one of his friends named Democrates; and that Ariphron would have had proclamation made for him, had not Pericles diverted him from it, by ſaying, "If he is dead, we ſhall only find him one day the ſooner "for it; if he is ſafe, it will be a reproach to him as long "as he lives." Another ſtory is, that he killed one of his ſervants with a ſtroke of his ſtick, in Sibyrtius's place of exerciſe. But, perhaps, we ſhould not give entire credit to theſe things, which were profeſſedly written by an enemy to defame him.

Many perſons of rank made their court to Alcibiades, but it is evident that they were charmed and attracted by the beauty of his perſon. Socrates was the only one whoſe regards were fixed upon the mind, and bore witneſs to the young man's virtue and ingenuity; the rays of which he could diſtinguiſh through his fine form. And fearing leſt the pride of riches and high rank, and the crowd of flatterers, both Athenians and ſtrangers, ſhould corrupt him, he uſed his beſt endeavors to prevent it, and took care that ſo hopeful a plant ſhould not loſe its fruit, and periſh in the very flower. If ever fortune ſo encloſed and fortified a man with what are called her goods, as to render him† inacceſſible to the inciſion knife of philoſophy, and the ſearching probe of free advice, ſurely it was Alcibiades. From

* Marſyas.

† Plutarch's expreſſion here is not exactly the ſame with that of the tranſlation, but it is couched in figures which tend the ſame way, ὑς' ἀτρώτου ὑπο φιγοσοφίας γενεσθαι, και, λογοις ἀπροσιτου παῤῥησιαν και ὀνγμων ἐχουσιν———.

the firſt he was ſurrounded with pleaſure, and a multitude of admirers determined to ſay nothing but what they thought would pleaſe, and to keep him from all admonition and reproof; yet by his native penetration, he diſtinguiſhed the value of Socrates, and attached himſelf to him, rejecting the rich and great who ſued for his regard.

With Socrates he ſoon entered into the cloſeſt intimacy; and finding that he did not, like the reſt of the unmanly crew, want improper favors, but that he ſtudied to correct the errors of his heart, and to cure him of his empty and fooliſh arrogance,

> Then his creſt fell, and all his pride was gone,
> He droop'd the conquer'd wing.

In fact, he conſidered the diſcipline of Socrates as a proviſion from heaven for the preſervation and benefit of youth. Thus deſpiſing himſelf, admiring his friend, adoring his wiſdom, and revering his virtue, he inſenſibly formed in his heart the image of love, or rather come under the influence of that power, who, as Plato ſays, ſecures his votaries from vicious love. It ſurpriſed all the world to ſee him conſtantly ſup with Socrates, take with him the exerciſe of wreſtling, lodge in the ſame tent with him; while to his other admirers he was reſerved and rough. Nay, to ſome he behaved with great inſolence; to Anytus (for inſtance) the ſon of Anthemion. Anytus was very fond of him, and happening to make an entertainment for ſome ſtrangers, he deſired Alcibiades to give him his company. Alcibiades would not accept of the invitation, but having drank deep with ſome of his acquaintance at his own houſe he went thither to play ſome frolic. The frolic was this; He ſtood at the door of the room where the gueſts were entertained, and ſeeing a great number of gold and ſilver cups upon the table, he ordered his ſervants to take half of them, and carry them to his own houſe;* and then not vouchſafing ſo much as to enter into the room himſelf, as ſoon as he had done this, he went away. The company reſented the affront, and ſaid he had behaved very rudely and inſolently to Anytus. "Not at all," ſaid Anytus, "but rather kindly, ſince he has left us half, when he "knew it was in his power to take the whole."

* Athenæus ſays, he did not keep them himſelf, but having taken them from this man who was rich, gave them to Thraſylus, who was poor.

He behaved in the ſame manner to his other admirers, except only one ſtranger. This man (they tell us) was but in indifferent circumſtances; for when he had ſold all, he could make up no more than the ſum of one hundred *ſtaters*;* which he carried to Alcibiades, and begged of him to accept it. Alcibiades was pleaſed at the thing, and, ſmiling, invited him to ſupper. After a kind reception and entertainment, he gave him the gold again, but required him to be preſent the next day when the public revenues were be to offered to farm, and to be ſure to be the higheſt bidder. The man endeavoring to excuſe himſelf, becauſe the rent would be many talents, Alcibiades, who had a private pique againſt the old farmers, threatened to have him beaten if he refuſed. Next morning, therefore, the ſtranger appeared in the market place, and offered a talent more than the former rent. The farmers uneaſy and angry at this, called upon him to name his ſecurity, ſuppoſing that he could not find any. The poor man was indeed much ſtartled and going to retire with ſhame, when Alcibiades, who ſtood at ſome diſtance, cried out to the magiſtrates, "Set down my name; he is my friend, and "I will be his ſecurity." When the old farmers of the revenue heard this, they were much perplexed; for their way was, with the profits of the preſent year to pay the rent of the preceding; ſo that ſeeing no other way to extricate themſelves out of the difficulty, they applied to the ſtranger in an humble ſtrain, and offered him money. But Alcibiades would not ſuffer him to take leſs than a talent, which accordingly was paid. Having done him this ſervice, he told him he might relinquiſh his bargain.

Though Socrates had many rivals, yet he kept poſſeſſion of Alcibiades's heart by the excellence of his genius and the pathetic turn of his converſation, which often drew tears from his young companion. And though ſometimes he gave Socrates the ſlip, and was drawn away by his

* The *ſtater* was a coin which weighed four Attic drachmas; and was either of gold or ſilver. The ſilver was worth about two ſhillings and ſixpence ſterling. The *ſtater daricus*, a gold coin, was worth twelve ſhillings and three pence halfpenny; but the Attic *ſtater* of gold muſt be worth much more, if we reckon the proportion of gold to ſilver only at ten to one, as it was then; whereas now it is about ſixteen to one. Dacier, then, is greatly miſtaken, when he ſays the *ſtater* here mentioned by Plutarch was worth only forty French ſols; for Plutarch ſays expreſsly, that theſe *ſtaters* were of gold.

flatterers, who exhauſted all the art of pleaſure for that purpoſe, yet the philoſopher took care to hunt out his fugitive, who feared and reſpected none but him; the reſt he held in great contempt. Hence that ſaying of Cleanthes, Socrates gains Alcibiades by the ear, and leaves to his rivals other parts of his body, with which he ſcorns to meddle. In fact, Alcibiades was very capable of being led by the allurements of pleaſure; and what Thucydides ſays concerning his exceſſes in his way of living, gives occaſion to believe ſo. Thoſe who endeavored to corrupt him, attacked him on a ſtill weaker ſide, his vanity and love of diſtinction, and led him into vaſt deſigns and unſeaſonable projects, perſuading him, that as ſoon as he ſhould apply himſelf to the management of public affairs, he ſhould not only eclipſe the other generals and orators, but ſurpaſs even Pericles himſelf, in point of reputation as well as intereſt with the powers of Greece. But as iron, when ſoftened by the fire, is ſoon hardened again and brought to a proper temper by cold water; ſo when Alcibiades was enervated by luxury, or ſwoln with pride, Socrates corrected and brought him to himſelf by his diſcourſes; for from them he learned the number of his defects and the imperfection of his virtue.

When he was paſt his childhood, happening to go into a grammar ſchool, he aſked the maſter for a volume of Homer; and upon his making anſwer that he had nothing of Homer's, he gave him a box on the ear, and ſo left him. Another ſchoolmaſter telling him he had Homer, corrected by himſelf; "How!" ſaid Alcibiades, "and do "you employ your time in teaching children to read? "You who are able to correct Homer might ſeem to be fit "to inſtruct men."

One day wanting to ſpeak to Pericles, he went to his houſe, and being told there that he was buſied in conſidering how to give in his accounts to the people, and therefore not at leiſure; he ſaid as he went away, "He "had better conſider how to avoid giving in any account "at all."

While he was yet a youth, he made the campaign at Potidæa, where Socrates lodged in the ſame tent with him, and was his companion in every engagement. In the principal battle they both behaved with great gallantry; but Alcibiades at laſt falling down wounded, Socrates advanced to defend him, which he did effectually in the ſight of the

flew away. Upon this, the people ſet up ſtill louder acclamations, and many of them aſſiſted him to recover the quail The man who did catch it and bring it to him, was one Antiochus,* a pilot, for whom he had ever after a particular regard.

He had great advantages for introducing himſelf into the management of public affairs, from his birth, his eſtate, his perſonal valor, and the number of his friends and relations; but what he choſe above all the reſt to recommend himſelf by to the people was the charms of his eloquence. That he was a fine ſpeaker the comic writers bear witneſs; and ſo does the prince of orators, in his oration againſt Midias,† where he ſays that Alcibiades was the moſt eloquent man of his time. And if we believe Theophraſtus, a curious ſearcher into antiquity, and more verſed in hiſtory than the other philoſophers, Alcibiades had a peculiar happineſs of invention, and readiness of ideas which eminently diſtinguiſhed him. But as his care was employed not only upon the matter but the expreſſion, and he had not the greateſt facility in the latter he often heſitated in the midſt of a ſpeech, not hitting upon the word he wanted, and ſtopping until it occurred to him.

He was famed for his breed of horſes and the number of chariots. For no one beſides himſelf, whether private perſon or king, ever ſent ſeven chariots at one time to the Olympic games. The firſt, the ſecond, and the fourth prizes, according to Thucydides, or the third, as Euripides relates it, he bore away at once, which exceeds every thing performed by the moſt ambitious in that way. Euripides thus celebrates his ſucceſs:

> Great ſon of Clinias, I record thy glory,
> Firſt on the duſty plain
> The threefold prize to gain;
> What hero boaſts thy praiſe in Grecian ſtory?

* The name of the man who caught the quail would hardly have been mentioned, had not Alcibiades afterwards intruſted him with the command of the fleet in his abſence; when he took the opportunity to fight, and was beaten.

† It appears from that paſſage of Demoſthenes, that he ſpoke only from common fame, and conſequently that there was little of Alcibiades's then extant. We find ſome remains of his oratory in Thucydides.

Twice* does the trumpet's voice proclaim
Around the plauſive cirque the honor'd name:
Twice on thy brow was ſeen
The peaceful olive's green,
The glorious palm of eaſy purchaſed fame.†

The emulation which ſeveral Grecian cities expreſſed, in the preſents they made him, gave a ſtill greater luſtre to his ſucceſs. Epheſus provided a magnificent pavilion for him; Chios was at the expenſe of keeping his horſes, and beaſts for ſacrifice; and Leſbos found him in wine and every thing neceſſary for the moſt elegant public table. Yet, amidſt this ſucceſs, he eſcaped not without cenſure, occaſioned either by the malice of his enemies, or by his own miſconduct. It ſeems, there was at Athens one Diomedes, a man of good character and a friend of Alcibiades, who was very deſirous of winning a prize at the Olympic games; and being informed, that there was a chariot to be ſold, which belonged to the city of Argos, where Alcibiades had a ſtrong intereſt, he perſuaded him to buy it for him. Accordingly he did buy it, but kept it for himſelf, leaving Diomedes to vent his rage, and to call gods and men to bear witneſs of the injuſtice. For this there ſeems to have been an action brought againſt him; and there is extant an oration concerning a chariot, written by Iſocrates, in defence of Alcibiades, then a youth; but there the plaintiff is named Tiſius, not Diomedes.

Alcibiades was very young, when he firſt applied himſelf to the buſineſs of the republic, and yet he ſoon ſhowed him-

* Alcibiades won the firſt, ſecond, and third prizes in perſon; beſide which his chariots won twice in his abſence. The latter is what Euripides refers to in the words απο:ητι and δις τεθριπα.

† Antiſthenes, a diſciple of Socrates, writes, that Chios fed his horſes, and Cyzicus provided his victims. The paſſage is remarkable, for we learn from it that this was done, not only when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in his warlike expeditions, and even in his travels. "Whenever," ſays he, "Alcibiades travelled "four cities of the allies miniſtered to him as his handmaids. Epheſus "furniſhed him with tents as ſumptuous as thoſe of the Perſians; "Chios found provender for his horſes; Cyzicus ſupplied him with "victims and proviſions for his table; and Leſbos with wine and all "other neceſſaries for his houſehold." None but opulent cities were able to anſwer ſuch an expenſe; for at the time when Alcibiades won the three prizes in perſon at the Olympic games, after he had offered a very coſtly ſacrifice to Jupiter, he entertained at a magnificent repaſt that innumerable company which had aſſiſted at the games.

ſelf ſuperior to the other orators. The perſons capable of ſtanding in ſome degree of competition with him, were Phæax the ſon of Eraſiſtratus, and Nicias the ſon of Niceratus. The latter was advanced in years, and one of the beſt generals of his time. The former was but a youth, like himſelf, juſt beginning to make his way; for which he had the advantage of high birth; but in other reſpects, as well as in the art of ſpeaking, was inferior to Alcibiades. He ſeemed fitter for ſoliciting and perſuading in private, than for ſtemming the torrent of a public debate; in ſhort, he was one of thoſe of whom Eupolis ſays, "True, "he can talk, and yet he is no ſpeaker." There is extant an oration againſt Alcibiades and Phæax, in which, amongſt other things, it is alledged againſt Alcibiades, that he uſed at his table many of the gold and ſilver veſſels provided for the ſacred proceſſions, as if they had been his own.

There was at Athens one Hyperbolus, of the ward of Perithois, whom Thucydides makes mention of as a very bad man, and who was a conſtant ſubject of ridicule for the comic writers. But he was unconcerned at the worſt things they could ſay of him, and being regardleſs of honor, he was alſo inſenſible of ſhame. This, though really impudence and folly, is by ſome people called fortitude and a noble daring. But, though no one liked him, the people nevertheleſs made uſe of him, when they wanted to ſtrike at perſons in authority. At his inſtigation, the Athenians were ready to proceed to the ban of *oſtraciſm*, by which they pull down and expel ſuch of the citizens as are diſtinguiſhed by their dignity and power, therein conſulting their envy rather than their fear.

As it was evident that this ſentence was levelled againſt one of the three, Phæax, Nicias, or Alcibiades, the latter took care to unite the contending parties, and leaguing with Nicias, cauſed the *oſtraciſm* to fall upon Hyperbolus himſelf. Some ſay, it was not Nicias, but Phæax, with whom Alcibiades joined intereſt, and by whoſe aſſiſtance he expelled their common enemy, when he expected nothing leſs. For no vile or infamous perſon had ever undergone that puniſhment. So Plato, the comic poet, aſſures us, thus ſpeaking of Hyperbolus:

> Well had the caitiff earned his baniſhment,
> But not by oſtraciſm; that ſentence ſacred
> To dangerous eminence.

But we have elſewhere given a more full account of what hiſtory has delivered down to us concerning this matter.*

Alcibiades was not leſs diſturbed at the great eſteem in which Nicias was held by the enemies of Athens, than at the reſpect which the Athenians themſelves paid him. The rights of hoſpitality had long ſubſiſted between the family of Alcibiades and the Lacedæmonians, and he had taken particular care of ſuch of them as were made priſoners at Pylos; yet when they found, that it was chiefly by the means of Nicias that they obtained a peace and recovered the captives, their regards centered in him. It was a common obſervation among the Greeks, that Pericles had engaged them in a war, and Nicias had ſet them free from it; nay, the peace was even called the Nician peace. Alcibiades was very uneaſy at this, and out of envy to Nicias determined to break the league.

As ſoon then as he perceived that the people of Argos both feared and hated the Spartans, and conſequently wanted to get clear of all connexion with them, he privately gave them hopes of aſſiſtance from Athens; and both by his agents and in perſon, he encouraged the principal citizens not to entertain any fear, or give up any point, but to apply to the Athenians, who were almoſt ready to repent of the peace they had made, and would ſoon ſeek occaſion to break it.

But after the Lacedæmonians had entered into alliance with the Bœotians, and had delivered Panactus to the Athenians, not with its fortifications, as they ought to have done, but quite diſmantled, he took the opportunity, while the Athenians were incenſed at this proceeding, to inflame them ſtill more. At the ſame time he raiſed a clamor againſt Nicias, alleging things which had a face of probability; for he reproached him with having neglected, when commander in chief, to make that† party priſoners who

* In the lives of Ariſtides and Nicias.

† After the Lacedæmonians had loſt the fort of Pylos in Meſſenia, they left in the iſle of Sphacteria, which was oppoſite that fort, a garſon of three hundred and twenty men, beſides Helots, under the command of Epitades the ſon of Molobrus. The Athenians would have ſent Nicias, while commander in chief, with a fleet againſt that land, but he excuſed himſelf. Afterwards Cleon, in conjunction with Demoſthenes, got poſſeſſion of it, after a long diſpute, wherein ſeveral of the garriſon were ſlain, and the reſt made priſoners, and ſent to Athens. Among thoſe priſoners were an hundred and twenty Spartans, who by the aſſiſtance of Nicias got releaſed. The Lace-

were left by the enemy in Sphacteria, and with releaſing them, when taken by others, to ingratiate himſelf with the Lacedæmonians. He farther aſſerted, that though Nicias had an intereſt with the Lacedæmonians, he would not make uſe of it to prevent their entering into the confederacy with the Bœotians and Corinthians; but that when an alliance was offered to the Athenians by any of the Grecian ſtates, he took care to prevent their accepting it, if it were likely to give umbrage to the Lacedæmonians.

Nicias was greatly diſconcerted; but at that very juncture it happened that ambaſſadors from Lacedæmon arrived with moderate propoſals, and declared that they had full powers to treat and decide all differences in an equitable way. The ſenate was ſatisfied, and next day the people were to be convened; but Alcibiades, dreading the ſucceſs of that audience, found means to ſpeak with the ambaſſadors in the mean time; and thus he addreſſed them: "Men of Lace-"dæmon, what is it that you are going to do? Are not you "appriſed that the behavior of the Senate is always candid "and humane to thoſe who apply to it, whereas the peo-"ple are haughty and expect great conceſſions? If you ſay "that you are come with full powers, you will find them "untractable and extravagant in their demands. Come "then, retract that impudent declaration, and if you de-"ſire to keep the Athenians within the bounds of reaſon, "and not to have terms extorted from you, which you "cannot approve, treat with them as if you had not a diſ-"cretionary commiſſion. I will uſe my beſt endeavors in "favor of the Lacedæmonians." He confirmed his promiſe with an oath, and thus drew them over from Nicias to himſelf. In Alcibiades they now placed an entire confidence, admiring both his underſtanding and addreſs in buſineſs, and regarding him as a very extraordinary man.

Next day the people aſſembled, and the ambaſſadors were introduced. Alcibiades aſked them in an obliging manner, what their commiſſion was, and they anſwered, that they did not come as plenipotentiaries. Then he began to rave and ſtorm, as if he had received an injury, not done one;

dæmonians afterwards recovered the fort of Pylos; for Anytus, who was ſent with a ſquadron to ſupport it, finding the wind directly againſt him, returned to Athens; upon which the people, according to their uſual cuſtom, condemned him to die; which ſentence, however, he commuted by paying a vaſt ſum of money, being the firſt who reverſed a judgment in that manner.

calling them faithleſs prevaricating men, who were come neither to do nor to ſay any thing honorable. The ſenate was incenſed; the people were enraged; and Nicias, who was ignorant of the deceitful contrivance of Alcibiades, was filled with aſtoniſhment and confuſion at this change.

The propoſals of the ambaſſadors thus rejected, Alcibiades was declared general, and ſoon engaged the Argives,* the Mantineans and Eleans as allies to the Athenians. Nobody commended the manner of this tranſaction, but the effect was very great, ſince it divided and embroiled almoſt all Peloponneſus, in one day lifted ſo many arms againſt the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea, and removed to ſo great a diſtance from Athens the ſcene of war; by which the Lacedæmonians, if victorious, could gain no great advantage, whereas a miſcarriage would have riſked the very being of their ſtate.

Soon after this battle at Mantinea,† the principal officers‡ of the Argive army attempted to aboliſh the popular government in Argos, and to take the adminiſtration into their own hands. The Lacedæmonians eſpouſed the deſign, and aſſiſted them to carry it into execution. But the people took up arms again, and defeated their new maſters; and Alcibiades coming to their aid, made the victory more complete. At the ſame time he perſuaded them to extend their walls down to the ſea, that they might always be in a condition to receive ſuccors from the Athenians. From Athens he ſent them carpenters and maſons, exerting himſelf greatly on this occaſion, which tended to increaſe his perſonal intereſt and power, as well at that of his country. He adviſed the people of Patræ too, to join their city to the ſea by long walls. And ſomebody obſerving to the Patenſians, "That the Athenians would one day ſwallow

* He concluded a league with theſe ſtates for an hundred years, which Thucydides has inſerted at full length in his fifth book; and by which we learn that the treaties of the ancient Greeks were no leſs perfect and explicit than ours. Their treaties were of as little conſequence too; for how ſoon was that broken which the Athenians had made with the Lacedæmonians?

† That battle was fought near three years after the concluſion of the treaty with Argos.

‡ Thoſe officers availed themſelves of the conſternation the people of Argos were in after the loſs of the battle; and the Lacedæmonians gladly ſupported them, from a perſuaſion that if the popular government were aboliſhed, and an ariſtocracy (like that of Sparta) ſet up in Argos, they ſhould ſoon be maſters there.

" them up;" " Poſſibly it may be ſo," ſaid Alcibiades, " but they will begin with the feet, and do it by little and " little, whereas the Lacedæmonians will begin with the " head, and do it all at once." He exhorted the Athenians to aſſert the empire of the land as well as of the ſea; and was ever putting the young warriors in mind to ſhow by their deeds that they remembered the oath they had taken in the temple of Agraulos.* The oath is, that they will conſider wheat, barley, vine and olives, as the bounds of Attica; by which it is inſinuated that they ſhould endeavor to poſſeſs themſelves of all lands that are cultivated and fruitful.

But theſe his great abilities in politics, his eloquence, his reach of genius and keenneſs of apprehenſion, were tarniſhed by his luxurious living, his drinking and debauches, his effeminacy of dreſs, and his inſolent profuſion. He wore a purple robe with a long train, when he appeared in public. He cauſed the planks of his galley to be cut away, that he might lie the ſofter, his bed not being placed upon the boards, but hanging upon girths. And in the wars he bore a ſhield of gold, which had none of the uſual† enſigns of his country, but, in their ſtead, a cupid bearing a thunderbolt. The great men of Athens ſaw his behavior with uneaſineſs and indignation, and even dreaded the conſequence. They regarded his foreign manners, his profuſion and contempt of the laws, as ſo many means to make himſelf abſolute. And Ariſtophanes well expreſſes how the bulk of the people were diſpoſed towards him:

They love, they hate, but cannot live without him.

* Agraulos, one of the daughters of Cecrops, had devoted herſelf to death for the benefit of her country; it has been ſuppoſed, therefore, that the oath which the young Athenians took, bound them to do ſomething of that nature, if need ſhould require; though, as given by Plutarch, it implies only an unjuſt reſolution to extend the Athenian dominions to all lands that were worth ſeizing. Demoſthenes mentions the oath in his oration *De Falſ. Legat.* but does not explain it.

† Both cities and private perſons had, of old, their enſigns, devices, or arms. Thoſe of the Athenians were commonly Minerva, the owl, or the olive. None but people of figure were allowed to bear any devices; nor even they, until they had performed ſome action to deſerve them; in the mean time their ſhields were plain white. Alcibiades, in his device, referred to the beauty of his perſon and his martial proweſs. Mottos, too, were uſed. Capaneus, for inſtance, bore a naked man with a torch in his hand; the motto this, *I will burn the city.* See more in Æſchylus's tragedy of the *Seven Chiefs.*

And again he ſatirizes him ſtill more ſeverely by the following alluſion:

Nurſe not a lion's whelp within your walls,
But if he is brought up there, ſoothe the brute.

The truth is, his prodigious liberality; the games he exhibited, and the other extraordinary inſtances of his munificence to the people, the glory of his anceſtors, the beauty of his perſon, and the force of his eloquence, together with his heroic ſtrength, his valor, and experience in war, ſo gained upon the Athenians, that they connived at his errors, and ſpoke of them with all imaginable tenderneſs, calling them ſallies of youth, and good humored frolics. Such were his confining Agatharcus the painter,* until he had painted his houſe, and then diſmiſſing him with a handſome preſent; his giving a box on the ear to Taureus, who exhibited games in oppoſition to him, and vied with him for the preference; and his taking one of the captive Melian women for his miſtreſs, and bringing up a child he had by her. Theſe were what they called his good humored frolics. But ſurely we cannot beſtow that appellation upon the ſlaughtering of all the males in the Iſle of Melos† who had arrived at years of puberty, which was in conſequence of a decree that he promoted. Again, when Ariſtophon had painted the courtezan Nemea with Alcibiades in her arms, many of the people eagerly crowded to ſee it, but ſuch of the Athenians as were more advanced in years were much diſpleaſed, and conſidered theſe as ſights fit only for a tyrant's court, and as inſults on the laws of Athens. Nor was it ill obſerved by Archeſtratus, "that Greece could not bear another Alcibiades." When Timon, famed for his miſanthropy, ſaw Alcibiades, after having gained his point, conducted home with great honor from the place of aſſembly, he did not ſhun him, as he did other men, but went up to him, and ſhaking him by the hand thus addreſſed him: "Go on, my brave "boy, and proſper; for your proſperity will bring on the

* This painter had been familiar with Alcibiades's miſtreſs.

† The iſle of Melos, one of the Cyclades, and a colony of Lacedæmon, was attempted by Alcibiades, the laſt year of the ninetieth Olympiad, and taken the year following. Thucydides, who has given us an account of this ſlaughter of the Melians, makes no mention of the decree. Probably he was willing to have the carnage thought the effect of a ſudden tranſport in the ſoldiery, and not of a cruel and cool reſolution of the people of Athens.

"ruin of all this crowd." This occaſioned various reflections; ſome laughed, ſome railed, and others were extremely moved at the ſaying. So various were the judgments formed of Alcibiades, by reaſon of the inconſiſtency of his character.

In the time of Pericles,* the Athenians had a deſire after Sicily, and when he had paid the laſt debt to nature, they attempted it; frequently, under pretence of ſuccoring their allies, ſending aids of men and money to ſuch of the Sicilians as were attacked by the Syracuſans. This was a ſtep to greater armaments. But Alcibiades inflamed this deſire to an irreſiſtible degree, and perſuaded them not to attempt the iſland in part, and by little and little, but to ſend a powerful fleet entirely to ſubdue it. He inſpired the people with hopes of great things, and indulged himſelf in expectations ſtill more lofty; for he did not, like the reſt, conſider Sicily as the end of his wiſhes, but rather as an introduction to the mighty expeditions he had conceived. And while Nicias was diſſuading the people from the ſiege of Syracuſe, as a buſineſs too difficult to ſucceed in, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and of Lybia; and after theſe were gained, he deſigned to graſp Italy and Peloponneſus, regarding Sicily as little more than a magazine for proviſions and warlike ſtores.

The young men immediately entered into his ſchemes, and liſtened with great attention to thoſe who under the ſanction of age related wonders concerning the intended expeditions; ſo that many of them ſat whole days in the places of exerciſe, drawing in the duſt the figure of the iſland and plans of Lybia and Carthage. However, we are informed, that Socrates the philoſopher, and Meton the

* Pericles, by his prudence and authority, had reſtrained this extravagant ambition of the Athenians. He died the laſt year of the eightyſeventh Olympiad, in the third year of the Peloponneſian war. Two years after this, the Athenians ſent ſome ſhips to Rhegium, which were to go from thence to the ſuccor of the Leontines, who were attacked by the Syracuſans. The year following they ſent a ſtill greater number; and two years after that, they fitted out another fleet of a greater force than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to their diviſions, and by the advice of Hermocrates (whoſe ſpeech Thucydides, in his fourth book, gives us at large) having ſent back the fleet, the Athenians were ſo enraged at their generals for not having conquered Sicily, that they baniſhed two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, and laid a heavy fine upon Eurymedon. So infatuated were they by their proſperity, that they imagined themſelves irreſiſtible.

aſtrologer, were far from expecting that theſe wars would turn to the advantage of Athens; the former, it ſhould ſeem, influenced by ſome prophetic notices with which he was favored by the genius who attended him; and the latter, either by reaſonings which led him to fear what was to come, or elſe by knowledge with which his art ſupplied him. Be that as it may, Meton feigned himſelf mad, and taking a flaming torch, attempted to ſet his houſe on fire. Others ſay, that he made uſe of no ſuch pretence, but burnt down his houſe in the night, and in the morning went and begged of the people to excuſe his ſon from that campaign, that he might be a comfort to him under his misfortune. By this artifice he impoſed upon them, and gained his point.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals much againſt his inclination; for he would have declined the command, if it had been only on account of his having ſuch a colleague. The Athenians, however, thought the war would be better conducted, if they did not give free ſcope to the impetuoſity of Alcibiades, but tempered his boldneſs with the prudence of Nicias. For as to the third general, Lamachus, though well advanced in years, he did not ſeem to come at all ſhort of Alcibiades in heat and raſhneſs.

When they came to deliberate about the number of the troops, and the neceſſary preparations for the armament, Nicias again oppoſed their meaſures, and endeavored to prevent the war. But Alcibiades replying to his arguments and carrying all before him, the orator Demoſtratus propoſed a decree, that the generals ſhould have the abſolute direction of the war, and of all the prparations for it. When the people had given their aſſent, and every thing was got ready for ſetting ſail, unlucky omens occurred, even on a feſtival which was celebrated at that time. It was the feaſt of Adonis;* the women walked in proceſſion with images, which repreſented the dead carried out to burial, acting the lamentations, and ſinging the mournful dirges uſual on ſuch occaſions.

* On the feaſt of Adonis all the cities put themſelves in mourning; coffins were expoſed at every door; the ſtatues of Venus and Adonis were borne in proceſſion, with certain veſſels filled with earth in which they had raiſed corn, herbs, and lettuce, and theſe veſſels were called *the gardens of* Adonis. After the ceremony was over, the *gardens* were thrown into the ſea or ſome river. This feſtival was celebrated throughout all Greece and Egypt, and among the Jews too, when they degenerated into idolatry, as we learn from *Ezekiel* viii. 14. *And behold there ſat women weeping for Tammuz*, that is, Adonis.

Add to this the mutilating and disfiguring of almoſt all the ſtatues of Mercury,* which happened in one night; a circumſtance which alarmed even thoſe who had long deſpiſed things of that nature. It was imputed to the Corinthians, of whom the Syracuſans were a colony; and they were ſuppoſed to have done it, in hopes that ſuch a prodigy might induce the Athenians to deſiſt from the war. But the people paid little regard to this inſinuation, or to the diſcourſes of thoſe who ſaid that there was no manner of ill preſage in what had happened, and that it was nothing but the wild frolic of a parcel of young fellows, fluſhed with wine, and bent on ſome extravagance. Indignation and fear made them take this event not only for a bad omen, but for the conſequence of a plot which aimed at greater matters; and therefore both ſenate and people aſſembled ſeveral times within a few days, and very ſtrictly examined every ſuſpicious circumſtance.

In the mean time, the demagogue Androcles produced ſome Athenian ſlaves and certain ſojourners, who accuſed Alcibiades and his friends of defacing ſome other ſtatues, and of mimicking the ſacred myſteries in one of their drunken revels; on which occaſion, they ſaid, one Theodorus repreſented the herald, Polytion the torch bearer, and Alcibiades the high prieſt; his other companions attending as perſons initiated, and therefore called Myſtæ. Such was the import of the depoſition of Theſſalus the ſon of Cimon, who accuſed Alcibiades of impiety towards the goddeſſes Ceres and Proſerpine. The people being much provoked at Alcibiades, and Androcles, his bittereſt enemy, exaſperating them ſtill more, at firſt he was ſomewhat diſconcerted. But when he perceived that the ſeamen and ſoldiers too, intended for the Sicilian expedition, were on his ſide, and heard a body of Argives and Mantineans, conſiſting of a thouſand men, declare, that they were willing to croſs the ſeas, and to run the riſk of a foreign war for the ſake of Alcibiades, but that if any injury were done to him, they would immediately march home again; then he recovered his ſpirits, and appeared to defend himſelf. It was now his enemy's turn to be diſcouraged, and to fear that the people, on account of the need they had of him, would be favorable in their ſentence. To obviate this inconvenience, they perſuaded certain orators who were not

* The Athenians had ſtatues of Mercury at the doors of their houſes, made of ſtones of a cubical form.

reputed to be his enemies, but hated him as heartily as the moſt profeſſed ones, to move it to the people, "That "it was extremely abſurd, that a general who was inveſted "with a diſcretionary power and a very important com- "mand, when the troops were collected, and the allies all "ready to ſail, ſhould loſe time, while they were caſting "lots for judges, and filling the glaſſes with water, to "meaſure out the time of his defence. In the name of "the gods let him ſail, and when the war is concluded, be "accountable to the laws, which will ſtill be the ſame."

Alcibiades eaſily ſaw their malicious drift in wanting to put off the trial, and obſerved, "That it would be an in- "tolerable hardſhip to leave ſuch accuſations and calum- "nies behind him, and be ſent out with ſo important a com- "miſſion, while he was in ſuſpenſe as to his own fate. That "he ought to ſuffer death, if he could not clear himſelf of "the charge; but if he could prove his innocence, juſtice "required that he ſhould be ſet free from all fear of falſe "accuſers, before they ſent him againſt their enemies." But he could not obtain that favor. He was indeed ordered to ſet ſail;* which he accordingly did, together with his colleagues, having near an hundred and forty galleys in his company, five thouſand one hundred heavy armed ſoldiers, and about a thouſand three hundred archers, ſlingers, and others light armed; with ſuitable proviſions and ſtores.

Arriving on the coaſt of Italy, he landed at Rhegium. There he gave his opinion as to the manner in which the war ſhould be conducted, and was oppoſed by Nicias; but as Lamachus agreed with him, he ſailed to Sicily, and made himſelf maſter of Catana.† This was all he performed, being ſoon ſent for by the Athenians to take his trial. At firſt, as we have obſerved, there was nothing againſt him but ſlight ſuſpicions, and the depoſitions of ſlaves and perſons who ſojourned in Athens. But his enemies took advantage of his abſence to bring new matter of impeachment, adding to the mutilating of the ſtatues his ſacrilegious behavior with reſpect to the myſteries, and alleging that both theſe crimes flowed from the ſame ſource,‡

* The ſecond year of the eightyfirſt Olympiad, and ſeventeenth of the Peloponneſian war.

† By ſurpriſe. *Thucyd.* lib. vi.

‡ They gave out, that he had entered into a conſpiracy to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians, and that he had perſuaded the Argives to undertake ſomething to their prejudice.

a conſpiracy to change the government. All that were accuſed of being any ways concerned in it, they committed to priſon unheard; and they repented exceedingly, that they had not immediately brought Alcibiades to his trial, and got him condemned upon ſo heavy a charge. While this fury laſted, every relation, every friend and acquaintance of his was very ſeverely dealt with by the people.

Thucydides has omitted the names of the accuſers, but others mention Dioclides and Teucer. So Phyrnichus the comic poet,

> Good *Hermes*, pray, beware a fall; nor break
> Thy marble noſe, leſt ſome falſe Dioclides
> Once more his ſhafts in fatal poiſon drench.
>
> *Merc.* I will. Nor e'er again ſhall that informer,
> Teucer, that faithleſs ſtranger, boaſt from me
> Rewards for perjury.

Indeed, no clear or ſtrong evidence was given by the informers.* One of them being aſked how he could diſtinguish the faces of thoſe who disfigured the ſtatues, anſwered, that he diſcerned them by the light of the moon; which was plain falſity, for it was done at the time of the moon's change. All perſons of underſtanding exclaimed again ſuch baſeneſs; but this detection did not in the leaſt pacify the people; they went on with the ſame rage and violence with which they had begun, taking informations, and committing all to priſon whoſe names were given in.

Among thoſe that were then impriſoned, in order to their trial, was the orator Andocides, whom Hellanicus the hiſtorian reckons among the deſcendants of Ulyſſes. He was thought to be no friend to a popular government, but a favorer of oligarchy. What contributed not a little to his being ſuſpected of having ſome concern in defacing the *Hermæ*, was, that the great ſtatue of Mercury which was placed near his houſe, being conſecrated to the god by the tribe called the Ægeis, was almoſt the only one, amongſt the more remarkable, which was left entire. Therefore to this day it is called the *Hermes* of Andocides, and that title univerſally prevails, though the inſcription does not agree with it.

* ——— αἰτίαις τηλικαύταις. The tranſlation of 1758, renders it *pregnant proofs*, though Plutarch obſerves a little lower that the proofs were very weak, and the evidence falſe and inconſiſtent.

It happened that among thoſe who were impriſoned on the ſame account, Andocides contracted an acquaintance and friendſhip with one Timæus; a man not equal in rank to himſelf, but of uncommon parts and a daring ſpirit. He adviſed Andocides to accuſe himſelf and a few more; becauſe the decree promiſed impunity to any one that would confeſs and inform, whereas the event of the trial was uncertain to all, and much to be dreaded by ſuch of them as were perſons of diſtinction. He repreſented that it was better to ſave his life by a falſity, than to ſuffer an infamous death as one really guilty of the crime; and that with reſpect to the public, it would be an advantage to give up a few perſons of dubious character, in order to reſcue many good men from an enraged populace.

Andocides was prevailed upon by theſe arguments of Timæus; and informing againſt himſelf and ſome others, enjoyed the impunity promiſed by the decree; but all the reſt whom he named were capitally puniſhed, except a few that fled. Nay, to procure the greater credit to his depoſition, he accuſed even his own ſervants.

However, the fury of the people was not ſo ſatisfied; but turning from the perſons who had disfigured the Hermæ, as if it had repoſed awhile only to recover its ſtrength, it fell totally upon Alcibiades. At laſt they ſent the Salaminian galley to fetch him, artfully enough ordering their officer not to uſe violence, or to lay hold on his perſon, but to behave to him with civility, and to acquaint him with the people's orders that he ſhould go and take his trial, and clear himſelf before them. For they were apprehenſive of ſome tumult and mutiny in the army, now it was in an enemy's country, which Alcibiades, had he been ſo diſpoſed, might have raiſed with all the eaſe in the world. Indeed, the ſoldiers expreſſed great uneaſineſs at his leaving them, and expected that the war would be ſpun out to a great length by the dilatory counſels of Nicias, when the ſpur was taken away. Lamachus, indeed, was bold and brave, but he was wanting both in dignity and weight, by reaſon of his poverty.

Alcibiades immediately embarked;* the conſequence of which was, that the Athenians could not take Meſſena.

* He prudently embarked on a veſſel of his own, and not on the Salaminian galley.

There were perſons in the town ready to betray it, whom Alcibiades perfectly knew, and as he appriſed ſome that were friends to the Syracuſans of their intention, the affair miſcarried.

As ſoon as he arrived at Thurii, he went on ſhore, and concealed himſelf there, eluded the ſearch which was made after him. But ſome perſon knowing him, and ſaying, "Will not you, then, truſt your country?" He anſwered, "As to any thing elſe I will truſt her; but with my "life I would not truſt even my mother, leſt ſhe ſhould "miſtake a black bean for a white one." Afterwards being told that the republic had condemned him to die, he ſaid, "But I will make them find that I am alive."

The information againſt him ran thus: "Theſſalus, "the ſon of Cimon, of the ward of Lacias, accuſeth "Alcibiades, the ſon of Clinias, of the ward of Scam-"bonis, of ſacrilegiouſly offending the goddeſſes Ceres "and Proſerpine, by counterfeiting their myſteries, and "ſhowing them to his companions in his own houſe. "Wearing ſuch a robe as the high prieſt does while he "ſhows the holy things, he called himſelf high prieſt, as "he did Polytion torch bearer, and Theodorus of the "ward of Phygea, herald; and the reſt of his companions "he called *perſons initiated*,* and *brethren of the ſecret*; "herein acting contrary to the rules and ceremonies eſtab-"liſhed by the Eumolpidæ,† the heralds and prieſts at "Eleuſis." As he did not appear, they condemned him, confiſcated his goods, and ordered all the prieſts and prieſteſſes to denounce an execration againſt him; which was denounced accordingly by all but Theano, the daughter of Menon, prieſteſs of the temple of Agraulos, who excuſed herſelf, alleging that *ſhe was a prieſteſs for prayer, not for execration.*

While theſe decrees and ſentences were paſſing againſt Alcibiades, he was at Argos; having quitted Thurii, which

* The *Myſtæ* or perſons initiated were to remain a year under probation, during which time they were to go no further than the veſtibule of the temple; after that term was expired they were called *Epoptæ*, and admitted to all the myſteries, except ſuch as were reſerved for the prieſts only.

† Eumolpus was the firſt who ſettled theſe myſteries of Ceres, for which reaſon his deſcendants had the care of them after him; and when his line failed, thoſe who ſucceeded in the function, were, notwithſtanding, called Eumolpidæ.

no longer afforded him a ſafe aſylum, to come into Peloponneſus. Still dreading his enemies, and giving up all hopes of being reſtored to his country, he ſent to Sparta to deſire permiſſion to live there under the protection of the public faith, promiſing to ſerve that ſtate more effectually, now he was their friend, than he had annoyed them, whilſt their enemy. The Spartans granting him a ſafe conduct, and expreſſing their readineſs to receive him, he went thither with pleaſure. One thing he ſoon effected, which was to procure ſuccors for Syracuſe without farther heſitation or delay, having perſuaded them to ſend Gylippus thither, to take upon him the direction of the war, and to cruſh the Athenian power in Sicily. Another thing which he perſuaded them to, was to declare war againſt the Athenians, and to begin its operations on the continent; and the third, which was the moſt important of all, was to get Decelea fortified; for this being in the neighborhood of Athens, was productive of great miſchief to that commonwealth.*

Theſe meaſures procured Alcibiades the public approbation at Sparta, and he was no leſs admired for his manner of living in private. By conforming to their diet and other auſterities, he charmed and captivated the people. When they ſaw him cloſe ſhaved, bathing in cold water, feeding on their coarſe bread, or eating their black broth, they could hardly believe that ſuch a man had ever kept a cook in his houſe, ſeen a perfumer, or worn a robe of Mileſian purple. It ſeems, that amongſt his other qualifications, he had the very extraordinary art of engaging the affections of thoſe with whom he converſed, by imitating and adopting their cuſtoms and way of living. Nay, he turned himſelf into all manner of forms with more eaſe than the cameleon changes his color. It is not, we are told, in that animal's power to aſſume a white, but Alcibiades could adapt him-

* Agis king of Sparta, at the head of a very numerous army of Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other nations of Peloponnelus, invaded Attica, and according to the advice which Alcibiades had given, ſeized and fortified Decelea, which ſtood at an equal diſtance from Athens and the frontiers of Bœotia, by means of which the Athenians were now deprived of the profits of the ſilver mines, of the rents of their lands, and of the ſuccors of their neighbors. But the greateſt misfortune which happened to the Athenians, from the beginning of the war to this time, was that which befel them this year in Sicily, where they not only loſt the conqueſt they aimed at, together with the reputation they had ſo long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals.

ſelf either to good or bad, and did not find any thing which he attempted, impracticable. Thus at Sparta he was all for exerciſe, frugal in his diet, and ſevere in his manners. In Aſia he was as much for mirth and pleaſure, luxury and eaſe. In Thrace, again, riding and drinking were his favorite amuſements; and in the palace of Tiſſaphernes, the Perſian grandee, he outvied the Perſians themſelves in pomp and ſplendor. Not that he could with ſo much eaſe change his real manners, or approve in his heart the form which he aſſumed; but becauſe he knew that his native manners would be unacceptable to thoſe whom he happened to be with, he immediately conformed to the ways and faſhions of whatever place he came to. When he was at Lacedæmon, if you regarded only his outſide, you would ſay as the proverb does, *This is not the ſon of* Achilles, *but* Achilles *himſelf*; this man has ſurely been brought up under the eye of Lycurgus; but then if you looked more nearly into his diſpoſition and his actions, you would exclaim with Electra in the poet, *The ſame weak woman ſtill!** For while king Agis was employed in a diſtant expedition he corrupted his wife Timæa ſo effectually, that ſhe was with child by him, and did not pretend to deny it; and when ſhe was delivered of a ſon, though in public ſhe called him Leotychidas, yet in her own houſe ſhe whiſpered to her female friends and to her ſervants, that his true name was Alcibiades. To ſuch a degree was the woman tranſported by her paſſion. And Alcibiades himſelf, indulging his vein of mirth, uſed to ſay, "His motive was not to "injure the king, or to ſatisfy his appetite, but that his "offspring might one day ſit on the throne of Lacedæ-"mon." Agis had information of theſe matters from ſeveral hands, and he was the more ready to give credit to them, becauſe they agreed with the time. Terrified with an earthquake, he had quitted his wife's chamber, to which he returned not for the next ten months; at the end of which Leotychidas being born, he declared the child was not his; and for this reaſon he was never ſuffered to inherit the crown of Sparta.

After the miſcarriage of the Athenians in Sicily, the people of Chios, of Leſbos and Cyzicum, ſent to treat with the Spartans about quitting the intereſts of Athens.

* This is ſpoken of Hermione, in the Oreſtes of Euripides, upon her diſcovering the ſame vanity and ſolicitude about her beauty, when advanced in years, that ſhe had when ſhe was young.

and putting themſelves under the protection of Sparta. The Bœotians on this occaſion, ſolicited for the Leſbians, and Pharnabazus for the people of Cyzicum, but at the perſuaſion of Alcibiades, ſuccors were ſent to thoſe of Chios before all others. He likewiſe paſſed over into Ionia, and prevailed with almoſt all that country to revolt, and attending the Lacedæmonian generals in the execution of moſt of their commiſſions, he did great prejudice to the Athenians.

But Agis, who was already his enemy on account of the injury done to his bed, could not endure his glory and proſperity; for moſt of the preſent ſucceſſes were aſcribed to Alcibiades. The great and the ambitious among the Spartans were indeed, in general, touched with envy; and had influence enough with the civil magiſtrates, to procure orders to be ſent to their friends in Ionia to kill him. But timely foreſeeing his danger, and cautioned by his fears, in every ſtep he took, he ſtill ſerved the Lacedæmonians, taking care all the while not to put himſelf in their power. Inſtead of that, he ſought the protection of Tiſſaphernes, one of the grandees of Perſia, or lieutenants of the king. With this Perſian he ſoon attained the higheſt credit and authority; for himſelf a very ſubtle and inſincere man, he admired the art and keenneſs of Alcibiades. Indeed, by the elegance of his converſation and the charms of his politeneſs, every man was gained, all hearts were touched. Even thoſe that feared and envied him were not inſenſible to pleaſure in his company; and while they enjoyed it, their reſentment was diſarmed. Tiſſaphernes, in all other caſes ſavage in his temper, and the bittereſt enemy that Greece experienced among the Perſians, gave himſelf up, notwithſtanding, to the flatteries of Alcibiades, inſomuch that he even vied with and exceeded him in addreſs. For of all his gardens, that which excelled in beauty, which was remarkable for the ſalubrity of its ſtreams and the freſhneſs of its meadows, which was ſet off with pavilions royally adorned, and retirements finiſhed in the moſt elegant taſte, he diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Alcibiades*; and every one continued to give it that appellation.

Rejecting, therefore, the intereſts of Lacedæmon, and fearing that people as treacherous to him, he repreſented them and their king Agis, in a diſadvantageous light, to Tiſſaphernes. He adviſed him not to aſſiſt them effectually, nor abſolutely to ruin the Athenians, but to ſend his ſub-

ſidies to Sparta with a ſparing hand; that ſo the two powers might inſenſibly weaken and conſume each other, and both at laſt be eaſily ſubjected to the king. Tiſſaphernes readily followed his counſels, and it was evident to all the world that he held him in the greateſt admiration and eſteem; which made him equally conſiderable with the Greeks of both parties. The Athenians repented of the ſentence they had paſſed upon him, becauſe they had ſuffered for it ſince; and Alcibiades, on his ſide, was under ſome fear and concern, leſt, if their republic were deſtroyed, he ſhould fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians who hated him.

At that time the whole ſtrength of the Athenians lay at Samos. With their ſhips ſent out from thence, they recovered ſome of the towns which had revolted, and others they kept to their duty; and at ſea they were in ſome meaſure able to make head againſt their enemies. But they were afraid of Tiſſaphernes, and the Phœnician fleet of an hundred and fifty ſhips, which were ſaid to be coming againſt them; for againſt ſuch a force they could not hope to defend themſelves. Alcibiades, appriſed of this, privately ſent a meſſenger to the principal Athenians at Samos, to give them hopes that he would procure them the friendſhip of Tiſſaphernes; not to recommend himſelf to the people, whom he could not truſt; but to oblige the nobility, if they would but exert their ſuperiority, repreſs the inſolence of the commonalty, and taking the government into their own hands, by that means ſave their country.

All the officers readily embraced this propoſal, except Phrynichus, who was of the ward of *Dirades*. He alone ſuſpected what was really the caſe, that it was a matter of very little conſequence to Alcibiades whether an oligarchy or democracy prevailed in Athens; that it was his buſineſs to get himſelf recalled by any means whatever, and that therefore, by his invectives againſt the people, he wanted only to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of the nobility. Upon theſe reaſons proceeded the oppoſition of Phrynichus; but ſeeing his opinion diſregarded, and that Alcibiades muſt certainly become his enemy, he gave ſecret intelligence to Aſtyochus, the enemy's admiral, of the double part which Alcibiades acted, adviſing him to beware of his deſigns, and to ſecure his perſon. But he knew not that while he was betraying, he was himſelf betrayed. For Aſtyochus wanting to make his court to Tiſſaphernes, informed

Alcibiades of the affair, who, he knew, had the ear of that grandee.

Alcibiades immediately ſent proper perſons to Samos with an accuſation againſt Phrynichus; who ſeeing no other reſource, as every body was againſt him, and expreſſed great indignation at his behavior, attempted to cure one evil with another and a greater. For he ſent to Aſtyochus to complain of his revealing his ſecret, and to offer to deliver up to him the whole Athenian fleet and army. This treaſon of Phrynichus, however, did no injury to the Athenians, becauſe it was again betrayed by Aſtyochus; for he laid the whole matter before Alcibiades. Phrynichus had the ſagacity to foreſee, and expect another accuſation from Alcibiades, and to be beforehand with him, he himſelf forewarned the Athenians, that the enemy would endeavor to ſurpriſe them, and therefore deſired them to be upon their guard, to keep on board their ſhips, and to fortify their camp.

While the Athenians were doing this, letters came from Alcibiades again, adviſing them to beware of Phrynichus, who had undertaken to betray their fleet to the enemy; but they gave no credit to theſe deſpatches, ſuppoſing that Alcibiades, who perfectly knew the preparations and intentions of the enemy, abuſed that knowledge to the raiſing of ſuch a calumny againſt Phrynichus. Yet afterwards, when Phrynichus was ſtabbed in full aſſembly by one of Hermon's ſoldiers who kept guard that day, the Athenians taking cognizance of the matter, after his death, condemned Phrynichus as guilty of treaſon, and ordered Hermon and his party to be crowned for deſpatching a traitor.

The friends of Alcibiades, who now had a ſuperior intereſt at Samos, ſent Piſander to Athens, to change the form of government, by encouraging the nobility to aſſume it, and to deprive the people of their power and privileges, as the condition upon which Alcibiades would procure them the friendſhip and alliance of Tiſſaphernes. This was the color of the pretence made uſe of by thoſe who wanted to introduce an oligarchy. But when that body which were called *the five thouſand*, but in fact were only *four hundred*,*

* It was at firſt propoſed that only the dregs of the people ſhould loſe their authority, which was to be veſted in five thouſand of the moſt wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people. But when Piſander and his aſſociates found the ſtrength of their

had got the power into their hands, they paid but little attention to Alcibiades, and carried on the war but ſlowly; partly diſtruſting the citizens who did not yet reliſh the new form of government, and partly hoping that the Lacedæmonians, who were always inclined to favor an oligarchy, would not preſs them with their uſual vigor.

Such of the commonalty as were at home, were ſilent through fear, though much againſt their will; for a number of thoſe who had openly oppoſed the *four hundred*, were put to death. But, when they that were at Samos were informed of the affair, they were highly incenſed at it, and inclined immediately to ſet ſail for the Piræus. In the firſt place, however, they ſent for Alcibiades, and having appointed him their general, ordered him to lead them againſt the tyrants, and demoliſh both them and their power. On ſuch an occaſion, almoſt any other man, ſuddenly exalted by the favor of the multitude, would have thought he muſt have complied with all their humors, and not have contradicted thoſe in any thing, who, from a fugitive and a baniſhed man, had raiſed him to be commander in chief of ſuch a fleet and army. But he behaved as became a great general, and prevented their plunging into error through the violence of their rage. This care of his evidently was the ſaving of the commonwealth. For if they had ſailed home, as they promiſed, the enemy would have ſeized on Ionia immediately, and have gained the Helleſpont and the iſlands without ſtriking a ſtroke; while the Athenians would have been engaged in a civil war, of which Athens itſelf muſt have been the ſeat. All this was prevented chiefly by Alcibiades, who not only tried what arguments would do with the army in general, and informed them of their danger, but applied to them one by one, uſing entreaties to ſome and force to others; in which he was aſſiſted by the loud harangues of Thraſybulus of the ward of Stira, who attended him through the whole, and had the ſtrongeſt voice of any man among the Athenians.

Another great ſervice performed by Alcibiades, was, his undertaking that the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians expected from the king of Perſia, ſhould either

party, they carried it that the old form of government ſhould be diſſolved, and that five *Prytanes* ſhould be elected; that theſe five ſhould chooſe a hundred; that each of the hundred ſhould chooſe three; that the four hundred thus elected ſhould become a ſenate with ſupreme power, and ſhould conſult the five thouſand only when and on ſuch matters as they though t fit.

join the Athenians, or at leaſt not act on the enemy's ſide. In conſequence of this promiſe, he ſet out as expeditiouſly as poſſible; and prevailed upon Tiſſaphernes not to forward the ſhips, which were already come as far as Aſpendus, but to diſappoint and deceive the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheleſs, both ſides, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, accuſed Alcibiades of hindering that fleet from coming to their aid; for they ſuppoſed he had inſtructed the Perſians to leave the Greeks to deſtroy each other. And, indeed, it was obvious enough, that ſuch a force added to either ſide, would entirely have deprived the other of the dominion of the ſea.

After this, the *four hundred* were ſoon quaſhed,* the friends of Alcibiades very readily aſſiſting thoſe who were for a democracy. And now the people in the city not only wiſhed for him, but commanded him to return;† yet he thought it not beſt to return with empty hands, or without having effected ſomething worthy of note, but inſtead of being indebted to the compaſſion and favor of the multitude, to diſtinguiſh his appearance by his merit. Parting, therefore, from Samos with a few ſhips, he cruiſed on the ſea of Cnidus and about the Iſle of Coos, where he got intelligence that Mindarus the Spartan admiral, was ſailed with his whole fleet towards the Helleſpont, to find out the Athenians. This made him haſten to the aſſiſtance of the latter, and fortunately enough he arrived with his eighteen ſhips at the very juncture of time, when the two fleets having engaged near Abydos, continued the fight from morning until night, one ſide having the advantage in the right wing, and the other on the left.‡

On the appearance of his ſquadron, both ſides entertained a falſe opinion of the end of his coming; for the Spartans were encouraged and the Athenians ſtruck with terror. But he ſoon hoiſted the Athenian flag on the admiral galley, and bore down directly upon the Peloponneſians, who now had the advantage, and were urging the purſuit.

* The ſame year that they were ſet up, which was the ſecond of the ninetyſecond Olympiad. The reader muſt carefully diſtinguiſh this faction of four hundred from the ſenate of four hundred eſtabliſhed by Solon, which theſe turned out, the few months they were in power.

† Δυτος νετο δειν μη κεναις χερσι μηδε απραικτοις. ——

‡ Thucydides does not ſpeak of this arrival of Alcibiades; but probably he did not live to have a clear account of this action, for he died this year. Xenophon who continued his hiſtory, mentions it.

His vigorous impreſſion put them to flight, and following them cloſe he drove them aſhore, deſtroying their ſhips, and killed ſuch of their men as endeavored to ſave themſelves by ſwimming; though Pharnabazus ſuccored them all he could from the ſhore, and with an armed force attempted to ſave their veſſels. The concluſion was, that the Athenians, having taken thirty of the enemy's ſhips, and recovered their own, erected a trophy.

After this glorious ſucceſs, Alcibiades, ambitious to ſhow himſelf as ſoon as poſſible to Tiſſaphernes, prepared preſents and other proper acknowledgments for his friendſhip and hoſpitality, and then went to wait upon him, with a princely train. But he was not welcomed in the manner he expected; for Tiſſaphernes, who, for ſome time, had been accuſed by the Lacedæmonians, and was apprehenſive that the charge might reach the king's ear, thought the coming of Alcibiades a very ſeaſonable incident, and therefore put him under arreſt and confined him at Sardis, imagining that injurious proceeding would be a means to clear himſelf.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades having by ſome means or other obtained a horſe, eſcaped from his keepers, and fled to Clazomenæ; and, by way of revenge, he pretended that Tiſſaphernes privately ſet him at liberty. From thence he paſſed to the place where the Athenians were ſtationed; and being informed, that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicum, he ſhowed the troops that it was neceſſary for them to fight both by ſea and land, nay, even to fight with ſtone walls, if that ſhould be required, in order to come at their enemies; for, if the victory were not complete and univerſal, they could come at no money. Then he embarked the forces, and ſailed to Proconeſus, where he ordered them to take the lighter veſſels into the middle of the fleet, and to have a particular care that the enemy might not diſcover that he was coming againſt them. A great and ſudden rain which happened to fall at that time, together with dreadful thunder and darkneſs, was of great ſervice in covering his operations. For not only the enemy were ignorant of his deſign, but the very Athenians, whom he had ordered in great haſte on board, did not preſently perceive that he was under ſail. Soon after, the weather cleared up, and the Peloponneſian ſhips were ſeen riding at anchor in the road of Cyzicum. Leſt, therefore, the enemy ſhould be alarmed at the largeneſs of his fleet, and

ſave themſelves by getting on ſhore, he directed many of the officers to ſlacken ſail, and keep out of ſight, while he ſhowed himſelf with forty ſhips only, and challenged the Lacedæmonians to the combat. The ſtratagem had its effect; for deſpiſing the ſmall number of galleys which they ſaw, they immediately weighed anchor, and engaged; but the reſt of the Athenian ſhips coming up during the engagement, the Lacedæmonians were ſtruck with terror, and fled. Upon that, Alcibiades with twenty of his beſt ſhips, breaking through the midſt of them, haſtened to the ſhore, and having made a deſcent, purſued thoſe that fled from the ſhips, and killed great numbers of them. He likewiſe defeated Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their ſuccor. Mindarus made a brave reſiſtance, and was ſlain; but Pharnabazus ſaved himſelf by flight.

The Athenians remained maſters of the field, and of the ſpoils, and took all the enemy's ſhips. Having alſo poſſeſſed themſelves of Cyzicum, which was abandoned by Pharnabazus, and deprived of the aſſiſtance of the Peloponneſians, who were almoſt all cut off, they not only ſecured the Helleſpont, but entirely cleared the ſea of the Lacedæmonians. The letter alſo was intercepted, which, in the Laconic ſtyle, was to give the *Ephori* an account of their misfortune. "Our glory is faded. Mindarus is "ſlain. Our ſoldiers are ſtarving; and we know not "what ſtep to take."

On the other hand, Alcibiades's men were ſo elated, and took ſo much upon them, becauſe they had always been victorious, that they would not vouchſafe even to mix with other troops that had been ſometimes beaten. It happened not long before, that Thraſyllus having miſcarried in his attempt upon Epheſus, the Epheſians erected a trophy of braſs in reproach of the Athenians.* The ſoldiers of Alcibiades, therefore, upbraided thoſe of Thraſyllus with this affair, magnifying themſelves and their general, and diſdaining to join the others, either in the place of exerciſe or in the camp. But ſoon after, when Pharnabazus, with a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, attacked the forces of Thraſyllus, who were ravaging the country about Abydos, Alcibiades marched to their aſſiſtance, routed the enemy,

* Trophies before had been of wood, but the Epheſians erected this of braſs, to perpetuate the infamy of the Athenians; and it was this new and mortifying circumſtance with which Alcibiades's ſoldiers reproached thoſe of Thraſyllus. *Diodor.* lib. xiii.

and, together with Thraſyllus, purſued them until night. Then he admitted Thraſyllus into his company, and with mutual civilities and ſatisfaction, they returned to the camp. Next day he erected a trophy, and plundered the province which was under Pharnabazus, without the leaſt oppoſition. The prieſts and prieſteſſes he made priſoners, among the reſt, but ſoon diſmiſſed them without ranſom. From thence he intended to proceed and lay ſiege to Chalcedon, which had withdrawn its allegiance from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garriſon and governor; but being informed that the Chalcedonians had collected their cattle and corn, and ſent it all to the Bithynians, their friends, he led his army to the frontier of the Bithynians, and ſent a herald before him to ſummon them to ſurrender it. They, dreading his reſentment, gave up the booty, and entered into an alliance with him.

Afterwards he returned to the ſiege of Chalcedon, and encloſed it with a wall which reached from ſea to ſea. Pharnabazus advanced to raiſe the ſiege, and Hippocrates, the governor, ſallied out with his whole force to attack the Athenians. But Alcibiades drew up his army ſo as to engage them both at once, and he defeated them both; Pharnabazus betaking himſelf to flight, and Hippocrates being killed, together with the greateſt part of his troops. This done, he ſailed into the Helleſpont, to raiſe contributions in the towns upon the coaſt.

In this voyage he took Selybria; but in the action unneceſſarily expoſed himſelf to great danger. The perſons who promiſed to ſurrender the town to him, agreed to give him a ſignal at midnight with a lighted torch; but they were obliged to do it before the time, for fear of ſome one that was in the ſecret, who ſuddenly altered his mind. The torch, therefore, being held up before the army was ready, Alcibiades took about thirty men with him, and ran to the walls, having ordered the reſt to follow as faſt as poſſible. The gate was opened to him, and twenty of the conſpirators, lightly armed, joined his ſmall company, he advanced with great ſpirit, but ſoon perceived the Selybrians, with their weapons in their hands, coming forward to attack him. As to ſtand and fight promiſed no ſort of ſucceſs, and he who to that hour had never been defeated, did not chooſe to fly, he ordered a trumpet to command ſilence, and proclamation to be made, that *the* Selybrians *ſhould not*, under the pain of the Republic's high diſpleaſure,

take up arms againſt the Athenians. Their inclination to the combat was then immediately damped, partly from a ſuppoſition that the whole Athenian army was within the walls, and partly from the hopes they conceived of coming to tolerable terms. Whilſt they were talking together of this order, the Athenian army came up, and Alcibiades rightly conjecturing that the inclinations of the Selybrians were for peace, was afraid of giving the Thracians an opportunity to plunder the town. Theſe laſt came down in great numbers to ſerve under him as volunteers, from a particular attachment to his perſon; but on this occaſion he ſent them all out of the town; and, upon the ſubmiſſion of the Selybrians, he ſaved them from being pillaged, demanding only a ſum of money, and leaving a garriſon in the place.

Mean time, the other generals, who carried on the ſiege of Chalcedon, came to an agreement with Pharnabazus on theſe conditions; namely, that a ſum of money ſhould be paid them by Pharnabazus; that the Chalcedonians ſhould return to their allegiance to the republic of Athens; and that no injury ſhould be done the province of which Pharnabazus was governor, who undertook that the Athenian ambaſſadors ſhould be conducted ſafe to the king. Upon the return of Alcibiades, Pharnabazus deſired, that he too would ſwear to the performance of the articles, but Alcibiades inſiſted that Pharnabazus ſhould ſwear firſt. When the treaty was reciprocally confirmed with an oath, Alcibiades went againſt Byzantium, which had revolted, and drew a line of circumvallation about the city. While he was thus employed, Anaxilaus, Lycurgus, and ſome others, ſecretly promiſed to deliver up the place, on condition that he would keep it from being plundered. Hereupon, he cauſed it to be reported, that certain weighty and unexpected affairs called him back to Ionia, and in the daytime he ſet ſail with his whole fleet; but returned at night, he himſelf diſembarked with the land forces, and poſting them under the walls, he commanded them not to make the leaſt noiſe. At the ſame time the ſhips made for the harbor, and the crews preſſing in with loud ſhouts and great tumult, aſtoniſhed the Byzantines, who expected no ſuch matter. Thus an opportunity was given to thoſe within the walls, who favored the Athenians, to receive them in great ſecurity, while every body's attention was engaged upon the harbor and the ſhips.

The affair paſſed not, however, without blows. For the Peloponneſians, Bœotians, and Megarenſians, who were at Byzantium, having driven the ſhips crews back to their veſſels, and perceiving that the Athenian land forces were got into the town, charged them too with great vigor. The diſpute was ſharp, and the ſhock great, but victory declared for Alcibiades and Theramenes. The former of theſe generals commanded the right wing, and the latter the left. About three hundred of the enemy, who ſurvived, were taken priſoners. Not one of the Byzantines, after the battle, was either put to death, or baniſhed; for ſuch were the terms on which the town was given up, that the citizens ſhould be ſafe in their perſons and their goods.

Hence it was, that when Anaxilaus was tried at Lacedæmon for treaſon, he made a defence which reflected no diſgrace upon his paſt behavior; for he told them "That "not being a Lacedæmonian, but a Byzantine, and ſee-"ing not Lacedæmon but Byzantium in danger, its com-"munication with thoſe that might have relieved it, ſtop-"ped; and the Peloponneſians and Bœotians eating up "the proviſions that were left, while the Byzantines "with their wives and children, were ſtarving; he had "not betrayed the town to an enemy, but delivered it "from calamity and war; herein imitating the worthieſt "men among the Lacedæmonians, who had no other rule "of juſtice and honor, but by all poſſible means to ſerve "their country." The Lacedæmonians were ſo much pleaſed with this ſpeech, that they acquitted him, and all that were concerned with him.

Alcibiades, by this time, deſirous to ſee his native country, and ſtill more deſirous to be ſeen by his countrymen, after ſo many glorious victories, ſet ſail with the Athenian fleet, adorned with many ſhields and other ſpoils of the enemy; a great number of ſhips that he had taken making up the rear, and the flags of many more which he had deſtroyed, being carried in triumph; for all of them together were not fewer than two hundred. But as to what is added by Duris the Samian, who boaſts of his being deſcended from Alcibiades, that the oars kept time to the flute of Chryſogonus, who had been victorious in the Pythian games; that Callipides, the tragedian, attired in his buſkins, magnificent robes, and other theatrical ornaments, gave orders to thoſe who labored at the oars; and that the admiral galley entered the harbor with a

purple ſail; as if the whole had been a company who had proceeded from a debauch to ſuch a frolic; theſe are particulars not mentioned either by Theopompus, Ephorus, or Xenophon. Nor is it probable that at his return from exile, and after ſuch misfortunes as he had ſuffered, he would inſult the Athenians in that manner. So far from it, that he approached the ſhore with ſome fear and caution; nor did he venture to diſembark, until, as he ſtood upon the deck, he ſaw his couſin Euryptolemus, with many others of his friends and relations, coming to receive and invite him to land.

When he was landed, the multitude that came out to meet him, did not vouchſafe ſo much as to look upon the other generals, but crowding up to him, hailed him with ſhouts of joy, conducted him on the way, and ſuch as could approach him, crowned him with garlands; while thoſe that could not come up ſo cloſe, viewed him at a diſtance, and the old men pointed him out to the young.—Many tears were mixed with the public joy, and the memory of paſt misfortune, with the ſenſe of their preſent ſucceſs. For they concluded that they ſhould not have miſcarried in Sicily, or indeed have failed in any of their expectations, if they had left the direction of affairs, and the command of the forces to Alcibiades; ſince now having exerted himſelf in behalf of Athens, when it had almoſt loſt its dominion of the ſea, was hardly able to defend its own ſuburbs, and was moreover haraſſed with inteſtine broils, he had raiſed it from that low and ruinous condition, ſo as not only to reſtore its maritime power, but to render it victorious every where by land.

The act for recalling him from baniſhment had been paſſed at the motion of Critias the ſon of Callæſchrus,* as appears from his elegies, in which he puts Alcibiades in mind of his ſervice:

> If you no more in hapleſs exile mourn,
> The praiſe is mine————

* This Critias was uncle to Plato's mother, and the ſame that he introduces in his Dialogues. Though now the friend of Alcibiades, yet, as the luſt of power deſtroys all ties, when one of the thirty tyrants, he became his bitter enemy, and ſending to Lyſander, aſſured him that Athens would never be quiet, or Sparta ſafe, until Alcibiades was deſtroyed. Critias was afterwards ſlain by Thraſybulus, when he delivered Athens from that tyranny.

The people preſently meeting in full aſſembly, Alcibiades came in among them, and having in a pathetic manner bewailed his misfortunes, he very modeſtly complained of their treatment, aſcribing all to his hard fortune, and the influence of ſome envious demon. He then proceeded to diſcourſe of the hopes and deſigns of their enemies, againſt whom he uſed his utmoſt endeavors to animate them. And they were ſo much pleaſed with his harangue, that they crowned him with crowns of gold, and gave him the abſolute command of their forces, both by ſea and land. They likewiſe made a decree that his eſtate ſhould be reſtored to him, and that the Eumolpidæ and the heralds ſhould take off the execrations which they had pronounced againſt him by order of the people. Whilſt the reſt were employed in expiations for this purpoſe, Theodorus, the high prieſt, ſaid, "For his part, he had never "denounced any curſe againſt him, if he had done no in-"jury to the commonwealth."

Amidſt this glory and proſperity of Alcibiades, ſome people were ſtill uneaſy, looking upon the time of his arrival as ominous. For on that very day was kept the *plynteria*,* or purifying of the goddeſs Minerva. It was the twentyfifth of May, when the praxiergidæ perform thoſe ceremonies which are not to be revealed, diſrobing the image, and covering it up. Hence it is that the Athenians, of all days, reckon this the moſt unlucky, and take the moſt care not to do buſineſs upon it. And it ſeemed that the goddeſs did not receive him graciouſly, but rather with averſion, ſince ſhe hid her face from him. Notwithſtanding all this, every thing ſucceeded according to his wiſh; three hundred galleys were manned, and ready to put to ſee again; but a laudable zeal detained him until the celebration of the myſteries.† For after the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelea, which commanded the roads to Eleuſis, the feaſt was not kept with its uſual pomp becauſe they were obliged to conduct the proceſſion by ſea; the ſacrifices, the ſacred dances, and other ceremonies

* On that day, when the ſtatue of Minerva was waſhed, the temples were encompaſſed with a cord, to denote that they were ſhut up, as was cuſtomary on all inauſpicious days. They carried dried figs in proceſſion, becauſe that was the firſt fruit which was eaten after acorns.

† The feſtival of Ceres and Proſerpine continued nine days. On the ſixth they carried in proceſſion to Eleuſis the ſtatue of Bacchus, whom they ſuppoſed to be the ſon of Jupiter and Ceres.

which had been performed on the way, called holy, while he image of Bacchus was carried in proceſſion, being on hat account neceſſarily omitted. Alcibiades, therefore, udged it would be an act conducive to the honor of the ;ods, and to his reputation with men, to reſtore thoſe rites o their due ſolemnity, by conducting the proceſſion with iis army, and guarding it againſt the enemy. By that neans, either king Agis would be humbled, if he ſuffered t to paſs unmoleſted; or if he attacked the convoy, Alibiades would have a fight to maintain in the cauſe of iety and religion, for the moſt venerable of its myſteries, n the ſight of his country; and all his fellow citizens would be witneſſes of his valor.

When he had determined upon this, and communicated is deſign to the *Eumolpidæ* and the heralds, he placed ſenines upon the eminences, and ſet out his advanced guard s ſoon as it was light. Next he took the prieſts, the perons initiated, and thoſe who had the charge of initiating thers, and covered them with his forces, led them on in reat order and profound ſilence; exhibiting in that march ſpectacle ſo auguſt and venerable, that thoſe who did not nvy him declared, he had performed not only the office f a general, but of a high prieſt; not a man of the enemy ared to attack him, and he conducted the proceſſion back n great ſafety; which both exalted him in his own thoughts, nd gave the ſoldiery ſuch an opinion of him, that they onſidered themſelves as invincible while under his comand. And he gained ſuch an influence over the mean and ndigent part of the people, that they were paſſionately deirous to ſee him inveſted with abſolute power; inſomuch hat ſome of them applied to him in perſon, and exhorted im, in order to quaſh the malignity of envy at once, to boliſh the privileges of the people, and the laws, and to uell thoſe buſy ſpirits who would otherwiſe be the ruin of he ſtate; for then he might direct affairs and proceed to ction, without fear of groundleſs impeachments.

What opinion he himſelf had of this propoſal we know ot; but this is certain, that the principal citizens were ſo pprehenſive of his aiming at arbitrary power, that they got im to embark as ſoon as poſſible; and the more to expedite he matter, they ordered, among other things, that he hould have the choice of his colleagues. Putting to ſea, herefore, with a fleet of an hundred ſhips, he ſailed to the ſle of Andros, where he fought and defeated the Andrians

and ſuch of the Lacedæmonians as aſſiſted them. But yet he did not take the city, which gave his enemies the firſt occaſion for the charge which they afterwards brought againſt him. Indeed, if ever man was ruined by a high diſtinction of character, it was Alcibiades.* For his continual ſucceſſes had procured ſuch an opinion of his courage and capacity, that when afterwards he happened to fail in what he undertook, it was ſuſpected to be from want of inclination, and no one would believe it was from want of ability; they thought nothing too hard for him, when he pleaſed to exert himſelf. They hoped alſo to hear that Chios was taken, and all Ionia reduced, and grew impatient when every thing was not deſpatched as ſuddenly as they deſired. They never conſidered the ſmallneſs of his ſupplies, and that having to carry on the war againſt people who were furniſhed out of the treaſury of a great king, he was often laid under the neceſſity of leaving his camp, to go in ſearch of money and proviſions for his men.

This it was that gave riſe to the laſt accuſation againſt him. Lyſander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, out of the money he received from Cyrus, raiſed the wages of each mariner from three *oboli* a day to four, whereas it was with difficulty that Alcibiades paid his men three. The latter, therefore, went into Caria to raiſe money, leaving the fleet in charge with Antiochus,† who was an experienced ſeaman, but raſh and inconſiderate. Though he had expreſs orders from Alcibiades to let no provocation from the enemy bring him to hazard an engagement, yet in his contempt of thoſe orders, having taken ſome troops on board his own galley and one more, he ſtood for Epheſus, where the enemy lay, and as he ſailed by the heads of their ſhips, inſulted them in the moſt inſufferable manner both by words and actions. Lyſander ſent out a few ſhips to purſue him; but as the whole Athenian fleet came up to aſſiſt Antiochus, he drew out the reſt of his and gave battle, and gained a complete victory. He ſlew Antiochus himſelf, took many ſhips and men, and erected a trophy. Upon

* It was not altogether the univerſality of his ſucceſs that rendered Alcibiades ſuſpected, when he came ſhort of public expectation. The duplicity of his character is obvious from the whole account of his life. He paid not the leaſt regard to veracity in political matters; and it is not to be wondered if ſuch principles made him continually obnoxious to the ſuſpicion of the people.

† This was he who caught the quail for him.

this diſagreeable news, Alcibiades returned to Samos, from whence he moved with the whole fleet, to offer Lyſander battle. But Lyſander content with the advantage he had gained, did not think proper to accept it.

Among the enemies which Alcibiades had in the army, Thraſybulus, the ſon of Thraſon, being the moſt determined, quitted the camp, and went to Athens to impeach him. To incenſe the people againſt him, he declared in full aſſembly, that Alcibiades had been the ruin of their affairs, and the means of loſing their ſhips, by his inſolent and imprudent behavior in command, and by leaving the direction of every thing to perſons who had got into credit with him through the great merit of drinking deep and cracking ſeamen's jokes; whilſt he was ſecurely traverſing the provinces to raiſe money, indulging his love of liquor, or abandoning himſelf to his pleaſures with the courtezans of Iona and Abydos; and this at a time when the enemy was ſtationed at a ſmall diſtance from his fleet. It was alſo objected to him, that he had built a caſtle in Thrace near the city of Biſanthe, to be made uſe of as a retreat for himſelf, as if he either could not, or would not live any longer in his own country. The Athenians giving ear to theſe accuſations, to ſhow their reſentment and diſlike to him, appointed new commanders of their forces.*

Alcibiades was no ſooner informed of it, than, conſulting his own ſafety, he entirely quitted the Athenian army. And having collected a band of ſtrangers, he made war on his own account againſt thoſe Thracians who acknowledged no king. The booty he made raiſed him great ſums; and at the ſame time he defended the Grecian frontier againſt the barbarians.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus, the new made generals, being now at Ægos Potamos,† with all the ſhips which the Athenians had left, uſed to ſtand out early every morning and offer battle to Lyſander, whoſe ſtation was at Lampaſcus, and then to return and paſs the day in a diſ-

* They appointed ten generals. Xenoph. lib. i.

† Plutarch paſſes over almoſt three years; namely, the twenty-fifth of the Peloponneſian war; the twenty-ſixth, in which the Athenians obtained the victory at Arginuſæ, and put ſix of the ten generals to death, upon a ſlight accuſation of their colleague Theramenes; and almoſt the whole twenty-ſeventh, towards the end of which the Athenians ſailed to Ægos Potamos, where they received the blow that is ſpoken of in this place.

orderly and careleſs manner, as if they deſpiſed their adverſary. This ſeemed to Alcibiades, who was in the neighborhood, a matter not to be paſſed over without notice. He therefore went and told the generals,* "He thought "their ſtation by no means ſafe in a place where there was "neither town nor harbor; that it was very inconvenient "to have their proviſions and ſtores from ſo diſtant a place "as Seſtos; and extremely dangerous to let their ſeamen "go aſhore, and wander about at their pleaſure; whilſt "a fleet was obſerving them, which was under the orders "of one man, and the ſtricteſt diſcipline imaginable. He "therefore adviſed them to remove their ſtation to Seſtos."

The generals, however, gave no attention to what he ſaid; and Tydeus was ſo inſolent as even to bid him begone, for that they, not he, were now to give orders. Alcibiades, ſuſpecting that there was ſome treachery in the caſe, retired, telling his acquaintance, who conducted him out of the camp, that if he had not been inſulted in ſuch an inſupportable manner by the generals, he would in a few days have obliged the Lacedæmonians, however unwilling, either to come to an action at ſea, or elſe to quit their ſhips. This to ſome appeared a vain boaſt; to others it ſeemed not at all improbable, ſince he might have brought down a number of Thracian archers and cavalry, to attack and haraſs the Lacedæmonian camp.†

The event ſoon ſhowed that he judged right of the errors which the Athenians had committed. For Lyſander falling upon them, when they leaſt expected it, eight galleys only eſcaped,‡ along with Conon; the reſt, not much ſhort of two hundred, were taken and carried away, together with three thouſand priſoners, who were afterwards put to death. And within a ſhort time after Lyſander took Athens itſelf, burnt the ſhipping and demoliſhed the long walls.

Alcibiades, alarmed at this ſucceſs of the Lacedæmonians, who were now maſters both at ſea and land, retired into Bithynia. Thither he ordered much treaſure to be

* The officers at the head of the Grecian armies and navy, we ſometimes call generals, ſometimes admirals, becauſe they commonly commanded both by ſea and land.

† When a fleet remained ſome time at one particular ſtation, there was generally a body of land forces, and part of the mariners too encamped upon the ſhore.

‡ There was a ninth ſhip called Paralus which eſcaped, and carried the news of the defeat to Athens. Conon himſelf retired to Cyprus.

ſent, and took large ſums with him, but ſtill left more behind in the caſtle where he had reſided. In Bithynia he once more loſt great part of his ſubſtance, being ſtript by the Thracians there; which determined him to go to Artaxerxes, and entreat his protection. He imagined that the king, upon trial, would find him no leſs ſerviceable than Themiſtocles had been, and he had a better pretence to his patronage; for he was not going to ſolicit the king's aid againſt his countrymen, as Themiſtocles had done, but for his country againſt its worſt enemies. He concluded that Pharnabazus was moſt likely to procure him a ſafe conduct, and therefore went to him in Phrygia, where he ſtayed ſome time, making his court, and receiving marks of reſpect.

It was a grief to the Athenians to be deprived of their power and dominion, but when Lyſander robbed them alſo of their liberty, and put their city under the authority of thirty chiefs, they were ſtill more miſerably afflicted. Now their affairs were ruined, they perceived with regret the meaſures which would have ſaved them, and which they had neglected to make uſe of; now they acknowledged their blindneſs and errors, and looked upon their ſecond quarrel with Alcibiades as the greateſt of thoſe errors.—They had caſt him off without any offence of his; their anger had been grounded upon the ill conduct of his lieutenant in loſing a few ſhips, and their own conduct had been ſtill worſe in depriving the commonwealth of the moſt excellent and valiant of all its generals. Yet amidſt their preſent miſery there was one ſlight glimpſe of hope, that while Alcibiades ſurvived, Athens could not be utterly undone. For he, who before was not content to lead an inactive, though peaceable life, in exile, would not now, if his own affairs were upon any tolerable footing, ſit ſtill and ſee the inſolence of the Lacedæmonians, and the madneſs of the thirty tyrants, without endeavoring at ſome remedy. Nor was it at all unnatural for the multitude to dream of ſuch relief, ſince thoſe thirty chiefs themſelves were ſo ſolicitous to inquire after Alcibiades, and gave ſo much attention to what he was doing and contriving.

At laſt, Critias repreſented to Lyſander, that the Lacedæmonians could never ſecurely enjoy the empire of Greece till the Athenian democracy were abſolutely deſtroyed. And though the Athenians ſeemed at preſent to bear an oligarchy with ſome patience, yet Alcibiades, if he lived, would not ſuffer them long to ſubmit to ſuch a kind of

government. Lyſander, however, could not be prevailed upon by theſe arguments, until he received private orders from the magiſtrates of Sparta,* to get Alcibiades diſpatched; whether it was that they dreaded his great capacity, and enterpriſing ſpirit, or whether it was done in complaiſance to king Agis. Lyſander then ſent to Pharnabazus to deſire him to put this order in execution; and he appointed his brother Magacus, and his uncle Suſamithres to manage the affair.

Alcibiades at that time reſided in a ſmall village in Phrygia, having his miſtreſs Timandra with him. One night he dreamed that he was attired in his miſtreſs's habit,† and that as ſhe held him in her arms ſhe dreſſed his head, and painted his face like a woman's. Others ſay, he dreamed that Magacus cut off his head and burnt his body; and we are told, that it was but a little before his death that he had this viſion. Be that as it may, thoſe that were ſent to aſſaſſinate him, not daring to enter his houſe, ſurrounded it, and ſet it on fire. As ſoon as he perceived it, he got together large quantities of clothes and hangings, and threw them upon the fire to choke it; then having wrapt his robe about his left hand, and taking his ſword in his right, he ſallied through the fire, and got ſafe out before the ſtuff which he had thrown upon it could catch the flame. At ſight of him the barbarians diſperſed, not one of them daring to wait for him, or to encounter him hand to hand; but ſtanding at a diſtance, they pierced him with their darts and arrows. Thus fell Alcibiades. The barbarians retiring after he was ſlain, Timandra wrapt the body in her own robes,‡ and buried it as decently and honorably as her circumſtances would allow.

Timandra is ſaid to have been mother to the famous Lais, commonly called the Corinthian, though Lais was brought a captive from Hyccaræ a little town in Sicily.

Some writers, though they agree as to the manner of Alcibiades's death, yet differ about the cauſe. They tell

* The *Scytala* was ſent to him.

† Alcibiades had dreamed that Timandra attired him in her own habit.

‡ She buried him in a town called Meliſſa; and we learn from Athenæus *(in Deipnoſoph.)* that the monument remained to his time, for he himſelf ſaw it. The emperor Adrian, in memory of ſo great a man, cauſed his ſtatue of Perſian marble to be ſet up thereon, and ordered a bull to be ſacrificed to him annually.

us, that cataſtrophe is not to be imputed to Pharnabazus, or Lyſander, or the Lacedæmonians; but that Alcibiades having corrupted a young woman of a noble family, in that country, and keeping her in his houſe, her brothers, incenſed at the injury, ſet fire in the night, to the houſe in which he lived, and upon his breaking though the flames killed him in the manner we have related.*

CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

THE family of the Marcii afforded Rome many illuſtrious patricians. Of this houſe was Ancus Marcius, who was grandſon to Numa by his daughter; as were alſo Publius and Quintus Marcius, who ſupplied Rome with plenty of the beſt water. Cenſorinus, too, who was twice appointed *Cenſor* by the people of Rome, and who procured a law that no man ſhould ever bear that office twice afterwards, had the ſame pedigree.

Caius Marcius, of whom I now write, was brought up by his mother in her widowhood; and from him it appeared that the loſs of a father, though attended with other diſadvantages, is no hinderance to a man's improving in virtue and attaining to a diſtinguiſhed excellence; though bad men ſometimes allege it as an excuſe for their corrupt lives. On the other hand, the ſame Marcius became witneſs to the truth of that maxim, that if a generous and noble nature lie not thoroughly formed by diſcipline, it will ſhoot forth many bad qualities along with the good, as the richeſt ſoil, if not cultivated, produces the rankeſt weeds. His undaunted courage and firmneſs of mind excited him to many great actions, and carried him through them with honor. But, at the ſame time, the violence of his paſſions, his ſpirit of contention and exceſſive obſtinacy, rendered him un-

* Ephorus the hiſtorian, as he is cited by Diodorus Siculus (lib. xiv.) gives an account of his death, quite different from thoſe recited by Plutarch. He ſays, that Alcibiades having diſcovered the deſign of Cyrus the younger to take up arms, informed Pharnabazus of it, and deſired that he might carry the news to the king; but Pharnabazus envying him that honor, ſent a confidant of his own, and took all the merit to himſelf. Alcibiades ſuſpecting the matter, went to Paphlagonia, and ſought to procure from the governor letters of credence to the king; which Pharnabazus underſtanding, hired people to murder him. He was ſlain in the ſortieth year of his age.

tractable and diſagreeable in converſation. So that thoſe very perſons who ſaw with admiration his ſoul unſhaken with pleaſures, toils and riches, and allowed him to be poſſeſſed of the virtues of temperance, juſtice, and fortitude, yet in the councils and affairs of ſtate, could not endure his imperious temper, and that ſavage manner which was too haughty for a republic. Indeed there is no other advantage to be had from a liberal education, equal to that of poliſhing and ſoftening our nature by reaſon and diſcipline; for that produces an evenneſs of behavior, and baniſhes from our manners all extremes. There is this, however, to be ſaid, that in thoſe times, military abilities were deemed by the Romans the higheſt excellence, inſomuch that the term which they uſe for virtue in general, was applied by them to valor in particular.

Marcius, for his part, had a more than ordinary inclination for war, and therefore from a child began to handle his weapons. As he thought that artificial arms avail but little, unleſs thoſe with which nature has ſupplied us be well improved and kept ready for uſe, he ſo prepared himſelf by exerciſe for every kind of combat, that while his limbs were active and nimble enough for purſuing, ſuch was his force and weight in wreſtling and in grappling with the enemy, that none could eaſily get clear of him. Thoſe therefore that had any conteſt with him for the prize of courage and valor, though they failed of ſucceſs, flattered themſelves with imputing it to his invincible ſtrength, which nothing could reſiſt or fatigue.

He made his firſt campaign when he was very young,* when Tarquin, who had reigned in Rome, was driven from the throne, and after many battles fought with bad ſucceſs, was now venturing all upon the laſt throw. Moſt of the people of Latium and many other ſtates of Italy were now aſſiſting and marching towards Rome, to reeſtabliſh him, not through any regard they had for Tarquin, but for fear and envy of the Romans, whoſe growing greatneſs they were deſirous to check. A battle enſued, with various turns of fortune. Marcius diſtinguiſhed himſelf that day in ſight of the dictator; for ſeeing a Roman puſhed down at a ſmall diſtance from him, he haſtened to his help, and ſtanding before him, he engaged his adverſary and ſlew him. When the diſpute was decided in favor of the Romans,

* In the firſt year of the ſeventyfirſt Olympiad, the two hundred and fiftyeighth of Rome, four hundred and ninetythird before the Chriſtian era.

the general preſented Marcius, among the firſt, with an oaken crown.* This is the reward which their cuſtom aſſigns to the man who ſaves the life of a citizen; either becauſe they honored the oak for the ſake of the Arcadians, whom the oracle called *Acron eaters*; or becauſe an oaken branch is moſt eaſy to be had, be the ſcene of action where it will; or becauſe they think it moſt ſuitable to take a crown for him who is the means of ſaving a citizen, from the tree which is ſacred to Jupiter the protector of cities. Beſides, the oak bears more and fairer fruit than any tree that grows wild, and is the ſtrongeſt of thoſe that are cultivated in plantations. It afforded the firſt ages both food and drink by its acorns and honey; and ſupplied men with birds and other creatures for dainties, as it produced the miſleto, of which birdlime is made.†

Caſtor and Poltux are ſaid to have appeared in that battle, and with their horſes dropping ſweat to have been ſeen ſoon after in the *forum*, announcing the victory near the fountain, where the temple now ſtands. Hence alſo it is ſaid, that the fifteenth of July,‡ being the day on which that victory was gained, is conſecrated to thoſe ſons of Jupiter.

It generally happens, that when men of ſmall ambition are very early diſtinguiſhed by the voice of fame, their thirſt of honor is ſoon quenched and their deſires ſatiated; whereas deep and ſolid minds are improved and brightened by marks of diſtinction, which ſerve, as a briſk gale, to drive them forward in the purſuit of glory. They do not ſo much think that they have received a reward, as that they have given a pledge, which would make them bluſh to fall ſhort of the expectations of the public, and therefore they endeavor by their actions to exceed them. Marcius had a ſoul of this frame. He was always endeavoring to excel himſelf, and meditating ſome exploit which might ſet

* The Civic crown was the foundation of many privileges. He who had once obtained it, had a right to wear it always. When he appeared at the public ſpectacles, the ſenators roſe up to do him honor. He was placed near their bench; and his father and grandfather by the father's ſide, were entitled to the ſame privileges. Here was an encouragement to merit, which coſt the public nothing, and yet was productive of many great effects.

† It does not any where appear that the ancients made uſe of the oak in ſhip-building; how much nobler an encomium might an Engliſh hiſtorian afford that tree than Plutarch has been able to give it!

‡ By the great diſorder of the Roman kalendar, the fifteenth of July then fell upon the twentyfourth of our October.

him in a new light, adding achievement to achievement, and ſpoils to ſpoils; therefore the latter generals under whom he ſerved, were always ſtriving to outdo the former in the honors they paid him, and in the tokens of their eſteem. The Romans at that time were engaged in ſeveral wars, and fought many battles, and there was not one that Marcius returned from without ſome honorary crown, ſome ennobling diſtinction. The end which others propoſed in their acts of valor was glory; but he purſued glory becauſe the acquiſition of it delighted his mother. For when ſhe was witneſs to the applauſes he received, when ſhe ſaw him crowned, when ſhe embraced him with tears of joy, then it was that he reckoned himſelf at the height of honor and felicity. Epaminondas (they tell us) had the ſame ſentiments, and declared it the chief happineſs of his life, that his father and mother lived to ſee the generalſhip he exerted and the victory he won at Leuctra. *He* had the ſatisfaction, indeed to ſee both his parents rejoice in his ſucceſs, and partake of his good fortune; but only the mother of Marcius, Volumnia, was living, and therefore holding himſelf obliged to pay her all that duty which would have belonged to his father, over and above what was due to herſelf, he thought he could never ſufficiently expreſs his tenderneſs and reſpect. He even married in compliance with her deſire and requeſt, and after his wife had borne him children, ſtill lived in the ſame houſe with his mother.

At the time when the reputation and intereſt which his virtue had procured him in Rome, was very great, the ſenate, taking the part of the richer ſort of citizens, were at variance with the common people, who* were uſed by their creditors with intolerable cruelty. Thoſe that had ſomething conſiderable, were ſtript of their goods, which were either detained for ſecurity, or ſold; and thoſe that had nothing were dragged into priſon, and there bound with fetters, though their bodies were full of wounds, and worn out with fighting for their country. The laſt expedition they were engaged in, was againſt the Sabines, on which occaſion their rich creditors promiſed to treat them with more lenity, and, in purſuance of a decree of the ſenate, M. Valerius the conſul was guarantee of that promiſe. But

* Πασχειν δοκουντα ſignifies the ſame as πασχοντα. So 1 Cor. vii. 40. δοκω δε καγω πνευμα θεου εχειν, inſtead of *I think alſo that I have the Spirit of God*, ſhould be tranſlated, *and I have the ſpirit of God.*

when they had cheerfully undergone the fatigues of that war, and were returned victorious, and yet found that the uſurers made them no abatement, and that the ſenate pretended to remember nothing of that agreement, but without any ſort of concern ſaw them dragged to priſon, and their goods ſeized upon as formerly, then they filled the city with tumult and ſedition.

The enemy, appriſed of theſe inteſtine broils, invaded the Roman territories, and laid them waſte with fire and ſword. And when the conſuls called upon ſuch as were able to bear arms to give in their names, not a man took any notice of it. Something was then to be done, but the magiſtrates differed in their opinions. Some thought the poor ſhould have a little indulgence, and that the extreme rigor of the law ought to be ſoftened. Others declared abſolutely againſt that propoſal, and particularly Marcius. Not that he thought the money a matter of great conſequence, but he conſidered this ſpecimen of the people's inſolence as an attempt to ſubvert the laws, and the forerunner of farther diſorders, which it became a wiſe government timely to reſtrain and ſuppreſs.

The ſenate aſſembled ſeveral times within the ſpace of a few days, and debated this point, but as they came to no concluſion, on a ſudden the commonalty roſe one and all, and encouraging each other, they left the city, and withdrew to the hill now called *Sacred*, near the river Anio, but without committing any violence or other act of ſedition. Only as they went along, they loudly complained, "That it was now a great while ſince the rich had driven "them from their habitations; that Italy would any "where ſupply them with air and water and a place of "burial; and that Rome, if they ſtayed in it, would afford "them no other privilege, unleſs it were ſuch, to bleed "and die in fighting for their wealthy oppreſſors."

The ſenate were then alarmed, and from the oldeſt men of their body ſelected the moſt moderate and popular to treat with the people. At the head of them was Menenius Agrippa, who after much entreaty addreſſed to them, and many arguments in defence of the ſenate, concluded his diſcourſe with this celebrated fable: "The members of "the human body once mutinied againſt the belly, and "accuſed it of lying idle and uſeleſs, while they were all "laboring and toiling to ſatisfy its appetites; but the "belly only laughed at their ſimplicity, who knew not

" that though it received all the nouriſhment into itſelf,
" it prepared and diſtributed it again to all parts of the
" body. Juſt ſo my fellow citizens," ſaid he, "ſtands the
" caſe between the ſenate and you. For their neceſſary
" counſels and acts of government, are productive of ad-
" vantage to you all, and diſtribute their ſalutary in-
" fluence amongſt the whole people."

After this they were reconciled to the ſenate, having demanded and obtained the privilege of appointing five men,* to defend their rights on all occaſions. Theſe are called tribunes of the people. The firſt that were elected, were Junius Brutus,† and Sicinius Vellutus, the leaders of the ſeceſſion. When the breach was thus made up, the plebeians ſoon came to be enrolled as ſoldiers, and readily obeyed the orders of the conſuls relative to the war. As for Marcius, though he was far from being pleaſed at the advantage which the people had gained, as it was a leſſening of the authority of the patricians, and though he found a conſiderable part of the nobility of his opinion, yet he exhorted them not to be backward wherever the intereſt of their country was concerned, but to ſhow themſelves ſuperior to the commonalty rather in virtue than in power.

Corioli was the capital of the country of the Volſcians, with whom the Romans were at war. And as it was beſieged by the Conſul Cominius, the reſt of the Volſcians were much alarmed; and aſſembled to ſuccour it, intending to give the Romans battle under the walls, and to attack them on both ſides. But after Cominius had divided his forces, and with part went to meet the Volſcians without, who were marching againſt him, leaving Titus Lartius an illuſtrious Roman, with the other part, to carry on the ſiege, the inhabitants of Corioli deſpiſed the body that were left,

* The tribunes were at firſt five in number; but a few years after five more were added. Before the people left the *Mons Sacer*, they paſſed a law, by which the perſons of the tribunes were made ſacred. Their ſole function was to interpoſe in all grievances offered the plebeians by their ſuperiors. This interpoſing was called *interceſſio*, and was performed by ſtanding up and pronouncing the ſingle word *veto*, I forbid it. They had their ſeats placed at the door of the ſenate, and were never admitted into it, but when the conſuls called them to aſk their opinion upon ſome affair that concerned the intereſts of the people.

† The name of this tribune was Lucius Junius, and becauſe Lucius Junius Brutus was famed for delivering his country from the tyrannic yoke of the kings, he alſo aſſumed the ſurname of Brutus, which expoſed him to a great deal of ridicule.

and ſallied out to fight them. The Romans at firſt were obliged to give ground, and were driven to their entrenchments. But Marcius with a ſmall party flew to their aſſiſtance, killed the foremoſt of the enemy, and ſtopping the reſt in their career, with a loud voice called the Romans back. For he was (what Cato wanted a ſoldier to be) not only dreadful for the thunder of his arm, but of voice too, and had an aſpect which ſtruck his adverſaries with terror and diſmay. Many Romans then crowding about him, and being ready to ſecond him, the enemy retired in confuſion. Nor was he ſatisfied with making them retire; he preſſed hard upon their rear, and purſued them quite up to the gates. There he perceived that his men diſcontinued the purſuit, by reaſon of the ſhower of arrows which fell from the walls, and that none of them had any thoughts of ruſhing along with the fugitives into the city which was filled with warlike people, who were all under arms; nevertheleſs he exhorted and encouraged them to preſs forward, crying out, "That fortune had opened the "gates rather to the victors than to the vanquiſhed." But as few were willing to follow him, he broke through the enemy, and puſhed into the town with the crowd, no one at firſt daring to oppoſe him, or even to look him in the face. But when he caſt his eyes around and ſaw ſo ſmall a number within the walls, whoſe ſervice he could make uſe of in that dangerous enterpriſe, and that friends and foes were mixed together, he ſummoned all his force and performed the moſt incredible exploits, whether you conſider his heroic ſtrength, his amazing agility, or his bold and daring ſpirit; for he overpowered all that were in his way, forcing ſome to ſeek refuge in the fartheſt corners of the town, and others to give out and throw down their arms; which afforded Lartius an opportunity to bring in the reſt of the Romans unmoleſted.

The city thus taken, moſt of the ſoldiers fell to plundering, which Marcius highly reſented; crying out, "That "it was a ſhame for them to run about after plunder, or, "under pretence of collecting the ſpoils, to get out of the "way of danger, while the conſul and the Romans under "his command were, perhaps, engaged with the enemy." As there were not many that liſtened to what he ſaid, he put himſelf at the head of ſuch as offered to follow him, and took the route which he knew would lead him to the conſul's army; ſometimes preſſing his ſmall party to haſten

their march, and conjuring them not to ſuffer their ardor to cool, and ſometimes begging of the gods that the battle might not be over before he arrived, but that he might have his ſhare in the glorious toils and dangers of his countrymen.

It was cuſtomary with the Romans of that age when they were drawn up in order of battle, and ready to take up their ſhields and gird their garments about them, to make a nuncupative will, naming each his heir, in the preſence of three or four witneſſes. While the ſoldiers were thus employed, and the enemy in ſight, Marcius came up. Some were ſtartled at his firſt appearance, covered as he was with blood and ſweat. But when he ran cheerfully up to the conſul, took him by the hand, and told him that Corioli was taken, the conſul claſped him to his heart; and thoſe who heard the news of that ſucceſs, and thoſe who did but gueſs at it were greatly animated, and with ſhouts demanded to be led on to the combat. Marcius inquired of Cominius, in what manner the enemy's army was drawn up, and where their beſt troops were poſted. Being anſwered, that the Antiates who were placed in the centre, were ſuppoſed to be the braveſt and moſt warlike, "I beg "it of you then," ſaid Marcius, "as a favor, that you "will place me directly oppoſite to them." And the conſul admiring his ſpirit, readily granted his requeſt.

When the battle was begun with the throwing of ſpears,* Marcius advanced before the reſt, and charged the centre of the Volſcians with ſo much fury, that it was ſoon broken. Nevertheleſs, the wings attempted to ſurround him; and the conſul alarmed for him, ſent to his aſſiſtance a ſelect band which he had near his own perſon. A ſharp conflict then enſued about Marcius, and a great carnage was quickly made; but the Romans preſſed the enemy with ſo much vigor that they put them to flight. And when they were going upon the purſuit, they begged of Marcius, now almoſt weighed down with wounds and fatigue, to retire to the camp. But he anſwered, "That it was not for con- "querors to be tired," and ſo joined them in proſecuting the victory. The whole army of the Volſcians was defeated, great numbers killed, and many made priſoners.

Next day, Marcius waiting upon the conſul, and the army being aſſembled, Cominius mounted the roſtrum;

* Ὡς δοὴσαν ἐμβαλοντες.

and, having in the firſt place returned due thanks to the gods for ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs, addreſſed himſelf to Marcius. He began with a detail of his gallant actions, of which he had himſelf been partly an eyewitneſs, and which had partly been related to him by Lartius. Then out of the great quantity of treaſure, the many horſes and priſoners they had taken, he ordered him to take a tenth, before any diſtribution was made to the reſt, beſide making him a preſent of a fine horſe with noble trappings, as a reward for his valor.

The army received this ſpeech with great applauſe; and Marcius, ſtepping forward, ſaid, "That he accepted of "the horſe, and was happy in the conſul's approbation; "but as for the reſt, he conſidered it rather as a pecuniary "reward than as a mark of honor, and therefore deſired "to be excuſed, being ſatisfied with his ſingle ſhare of "the booty. One favor only in particular," continued he, "I deſire, and beg I may be indulged in. I have a "friend among the Volſcians, bound with me in the ſa"cred rites of hoſpitality,* and a man of virtue and hon"or. He is now among the priſoners, and from eaſy and "opulent circumſtances reduced to ſervitude. Of the "many misfortunes under which he labors, I ſhould be "glad to reſcue him from one, which is that of being ſold "as a ſlave."

Theſe words of Marcius were followed with ſtill louder acclamations; his conquering the temptations of money being more admired than the valor he had exerted in battle. For even thoſe who before regarded his ſuperior honors with envy and jealouſly, now thought him worthy of great things becauſe he had greatly declined them, and were more ſtruck with that virtue which led him to deſpiſe ſuch extraordinary advantages, than with the merit which claimed them. Indeed, the right uſe of riches is more commendable than that of arms; and not to deſire them at all, more glorious than to uſe them well.

When the acclamations were over, and the multitude ſilent again, Cominius ſubjoined, "You cannot, indeed,

* With the former tranſlator, we have rendered it thus, inſtead of *Hoſt*, which is indeed the literal ſenſe, but ſounds uncouthly in Engliſh; as it conveys to the unlearned reader the idea of an inkeeper. Among the ancients, one friend called another of a different nation ξενος μοι, *my ſtranger*, or *hoſpes meus*, *my hoſt*, becauſe on their travels or other occaſions they entertained each other at their houſes.

"my fellow ſoldiers, force theſe gifts of yours upon a "perſon ſo firmly reſolved to refuſe them; let us then give "him what it is not in his power to decline, let us paſs a "vote that he be called CORIOLANUS, if his gallant be-"havior at Corioli has not already beſtowed that name "upon him." Hence came his third name of Coriolanus. By which it appears, that Caius was the proper name; that the ſecond name, Marcius, was that of the family; and that the third Roman appellative was a peculiar note of diſtinction, given afterwards on account of ſome particular act of fortune, or ſignature, or virtue of him that bore it. Thus among the Greeks additional names were given to ſome on account of their achievements, as *Soter, the preſerver*, and *Callinicus, the victorious*; to others, for ſomething remarkable in their perſons, as *Phyſcon, the gore-bellied*, and *Grypus, the eagle noſed*; or for their good qualities, as *Euergetes, the benefactor*, and *Philadelphus, the kind brother*; or their good fortune, as *Eudæmon, the proſperous*, a name given to the ſecond prince of the family of the Batti. Several princes alſo have had ſatirical names beſtowed upon them; Antigonus (for inſtance) was called *Doſon, the man that will give tomorrow*, and Ptolemy was ſtyled *Lamyrus, the buffoon*. But appellations of this laſt ſort were uſed with greater latitude among the Romans. One of the Metelli was diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Diadenatus*, becauſe he went a long time with a bandage, which covered an ulcer he had in his forehead; and another they called *Celer*, becauſe with ſurpriſing celerity he entertained them with a funeral ſhow of gladiators, a few days after his father's death. In our times, too, ſome of the Romans receive their names from the circumſtances of their birth; as that of *Proculus*, if born when their fathers are in a diſtant country; and that of *Poſthumus*, if born after their father's death; and when twins come into the world, and one of them dies at the birth, the ſurvivor is called *Vopiſcus*. Names are alſo appropriated on account of bodily imperfections; for amongſt them we find not only *Sylla, the red*, and *Niger, the black*; but even *Cæcus, the blind*, and *Claudius, the lame*; ſuch perſons by this cuſtom being wiſely taught, not to conſider blindneſs or any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or diſgrace, but to anſwer to appellations of that kind as their proper names. But this point might have been inſiſted upon with greater propriety in another place.

When the war was over, the demagogues ſtirred up another ſedition. And as there was no new cauſe of diſquiet or injury done the people, they made uſe of the miſchiefs which were the neceſſary conſequence of the former troubles and diſſentions, as a handle againſt the *patricians*. For the greateſt part of the ground being left uncultivated and unſown, and the war not permitting them to bring in bread corn from other countries, there was an extreme ſcarcity in Rome.* The factious orators then ſeeing that corn was not brought to market, and that if the market could be ſupplied, the commonalty had but little money to buy with, ſlanderouſly aſſerted, that the rich had cauſed the famine out of a ſpirit of revenge.

At this juncture there arrived ambaſſadors from the people of Velitræ, who offered to ſurrender their city to the Romans, and deſired to have a number of new inhabitants to repleniſh it; a peſtilential diſtemper having committed ſuch ravages there, that ſcarce the tenth part of the inhabitants remained. The ſenſible part of the Romans thought this preſſing neceſſity of Velitræ a ſeaſonable and advantageous thing for Rome, as it would leſſen the ſcarcity of proviſions. They hoped, moreover, that the ſedition would ſubſide, if the city were purged of the troubleſome part of the people, who moſt readily took fire at the harangues of their orators, and who were as dangerous to the ſtate as ſo many ſuperfluous and morbid humors are to the body. Such as theſe, therefore, the conſuls ſingled out for the colony, and pitched upon others, to ſerve in the war againſt the Volſcians, contriving it ſo that employment abroad might ſtill the inteſtine tumults, and believing, that when rich and poor, plebeians and patricians, came to bear arms together again, to be in the ſame camp, and to meet the ſame dangers, they would be diſpoſed to treat each other with more gentleneſs and candor.

But the reſtleſs tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, oppoſed both theſe deſigns, crying out, That the conſuls diſguiſed a moſt inhuman act under the plauſible term of a colony; for inhuman it certainly was, to throw the poor citizens into a devouring gulf, by ſending them to a place where

* The people withdrew to the ſacred mount ſoon after the autumnal equinox, and the reconciliation with the patricians did not take place until the winter ſolſtice, ſo that the ſeed time was loſt. And the Roman factors, who were ſent to buy corn in other countries, were very unſucceſsful.

the air was infected, and where noiſome carcaſes lay above ground, where alſo they would be at the diſpoſal of a ſtrange and cruel deity. And as if it were not ſufficient to deſtroy ſome by famine, and to expoſe others to the plague, they involved them alſo into a needleſs war, that no kind of calamity might be wanting to complete the ruin of the city, becauſe it refuſed to continue in ſlavery to the rich.

The people, irritated by theſe ſpeeches, neither obeyed the ſummons to be inliſted for the war, nor could be brought to approve the order to go and people Velitræ. While the ſenate were in doubt what ſtep they ſhould take, Marcius, now not a little elated by the honors he had received, by the ſenſe of his own great abilities, and by the deference that was paid him by the principal perſons in the ſtate, ſtood foremoſt in oppoſition to the tribunes. The colony, therefore, was ſent out, heavy fines being ſet upon ſuch as refuſed to go. But as they declared abſolutely againſt ſerving in the war, Marcius muſtered up his own clients, and as many volunteers as he could procure, and with theſe made an inroad into the territories of the *Antiates*. There he found plenty of corn, and a great number of cattle and ſlaves no part of which he reſerved to himſelf, but led his troops back to Rome, loaded with the rich booty. The reſt of the citizens then repenting of their obſtinacy, and envying thoſe who had got ſuch a quantity of proviſions, looked upon Marcius with an evil eye, not being able to endure the increaſe of his power and honor, which they conſidered as riſing on the ruins of the people.

Soon after,* Marcius ſtood for the conſulſhip; on which occaſion the commonalty began to relent, being ſenſible what a ſhame it would be to reject and affront a man of his family and virtue, and that too after he had done ſo many ſignal ſervices to the public. It was the cuſtom for thoſe who were candidates for ſuch an high office to ſolicit and careſs the people in the *forum*, and, at thoſe times, to be clad in a looſe gown without the *tunic*; whether that humble dreſs was thought more ſuitable for ſuppliants, or whether it was for the convenience of ſhowing their wounds, as ſo many tokens of valor. For it was not from any ſuſpicion the citizens then had of bribery, that they required the

* It was the next year, being the third of the ſeventyſecond Olympiad, four hundred and eightyeight years before the Chriſtian æra.

candidates to appear before them ungirt and without any cloſe garment, when they came to beg their votes; ſince it was much later than this, and indeed many ages after, that buying and ſelling ſtole in, and money came to be a means of gaining an election. Then, corruption reaching alſo the tribunals and the camps, arms were ſubdued by money, and the commonwealth was changed into a monarchy. It was a ſhrewd ſaying, whoever ſaid it, "That "the man who firſt ruined the Roman people was he who "firſt gave them treats and gratuities." But this miſchief crept ſecretly and gradually in, and did not ſhow its face in Rome for a conſiderable time. For we know not who it was that firſt bribed its citizens or its judges; but it is ſaid, that in Athens, the firſt man who corrupted a tribunal, was Anytas, the ſon of Anthymion, when he was tried for treaſon in delivering up the fort of Pylos,* at the latter end of the Peloponneſian war; a time when the Golden Age reigned in the Roman courts in all its ſimplicity.

When, therefore, Marcius ſhowed the wounds and ſcars he had received in the many glorious battles he had fought for ſeventeen years ſucceſſively, the people were ſtruck with reverence for his virtue, and agreed to chooſe him conſul. But when the day of election came, and he was conducted with great pomp into the *Campus Martius* by the ſenate in a body, all the patricians acting with more zeal and vigor than ever had been known on the like occaſion; the commons then altered their minds, and their kindneſs was turned into envy and indignation. The malignity of theſe paſſions was farther aſſiſted by the fear they entertained, that if a man ſo ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of the ſenate, and ſo much reſpected by the nobility, ſhould attain the conſulſhip, he might utterly deprive the people of their liberty. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, they rejected Marcius, and appointed others to that office. The ſenate took this extremely ill, conſidering it as an affront rather intended againſt them than againſt Marcius. As for Marcius, he reſented that treatment highly, indulging his iraſcible paſſions upon a ſuppoſition, that they have ſomething great and exalted in them; and wanting a due mixture of gravity and mildneſs, which are the chief political virtues, and the fruits of reaſon and education. He did not conſider,

* The tranſlation of 1758, has the name of the fort with a French termination, *Pyle*, which is a clear proof that the Greek was not conſulted.

went themſelves, attended by the ædiles, to bring him by force, and began to lay hands on him. Upon this the patricians ſtood up for him, drove off the tribunes, and beat the ædiles; till night coming on broke off the quarrel. Early next morning the conſuls obſerving that the people now extremely incenſed flocked from all quarters into the *forum*; and dreading what might be the conſequence to the city, haſtily convened the ſenate, and moved, "That they "ſhould conſider how with kind words and favorable "reſolutions they might bring the commons to temper; "for that this was not a time to diſplay their ambition, nor "would it be prudent to purſue diſputes about the point "of honor at a critical and dangerous juncture, which re-"quired the greateſt moderation and delicacy of conduct." As the majority agreed to the motion, they went out to confer with the people, and uſed their beſt endeavors to pacify them, coolly refuting calumnies, and modeſtly, though not without ſome degree of ſharpneſs, complaining of their behavior. As to the price of bread corn and other proviſions, they declared, there ſhould be no difference between them.

Great part of the people were moved with this application, and it clearly appeared by their candid attention, that they were ready to cloſe with it. Then the tribunes ſtood up and ſaid, "That ſince the ſenate acted with ſuch modera-"tion, the people were not unwilling to make conceſſions "in their turn; but they inſiſted that Marcius ſhould come "and anſwer to theſe articles," *Whether he had not ſtirred up the ſenate to the confounding of all government, and to the deſtroying of the people's privileges? Whether he had not refuſed to obey their ſummons? Whether he had not beaten and otherwiſe maltreated the ædiles in the forum; and by theſe means (ſo far as in him lay) levied war, and brought the citizens to ſheath their ſwords in each other's boſom?* Theſe things they ſaid with a deſign, either to humble Marcius by making him ſubmit to entreat the people's clemency which was much againſt his haughty temper; or if he followed his native bent, to draw him to make the breach incurable. The latter they were in hopes of, and the rather becauſe they knew the man well. He ſtood as if he would have made his defence, and the people waited in ſilence for what he had to ſay. But when, inſtead of the ſubmiſſive language that was expected, he began with an aggravating boldneſs, and rather accuſed the commons, than defended

himſelf; when with the tone of his voice and the fierceneſs of his looks he expreſſed an intrepidity bordering upon inſolence and contempt, they loſt all patience; and Sicinius, the boldeſt of the tribunes, after a ſhort conſultation with his colleagues, pronounced openly, that the tribunes condemned Marcius to die. He then ordered the ædiles to take him immediately up to the top of the Tarpeian rock, and throw him down the precipice. However, when they came to lay hands on him, the action appeared horrible even to many of the plebeians. The patricians, ſhocked and aſtoniſhed, ran with great outcries to his aſſiſtance, and got Marcius in the midſt of them, ſome interpoſing to keep off the arreſt, and others ſtretching out their hands in ſupplication to the multitude; but no regard was paid to words and entreaties amidſt ſuch diſorder and confuſion, until the friends and relations of the tribunes perceiving it would be impoſſible to carry off Marcius and puniſh him capitally, without firſt ſpilling much patrician blood, perſuaded them to alter the cruel and unprecedented part of the ſentence; not to uſe violence in the affair, or put him to death without form of trial, but to refer all to the people's determination in full aſſembly.

Sicinius, then a little mollified, aſked the patricians, "What they meant by taking Marcius out of the hands "of the people, who were reſolved to puniſh him?" To which they replied by another queſtion, "What do you "mean by thus dragging one of the worthieſt men in "Rome, without trial, to a barbarous and illegal execu-"tion?" "If that be all," ſaid Sicinius, "you ſhall no "longer have a pretence for your quarrels and factious "behavior to the people; for they grant you what you "deſire; the man ſhall have his trial. And as for you, "Marcius, we cite you to appear the third market day, "and ſatisfy the citizens of your innocence, if you can; "for then by their ſuffrages your affair will be decided." The patricians were content with this compromiſe; and thinking themſelves happy in carrying Marcius off, they retired.

Meanwhile, before the third market day, which was a conſiderable ſpace, for the Romans hold their markets every ninth day, and thence call them *Nundinæ*, war broke out with the Antiates,* which, becauſe it was like to be of ſome

* Advice was ſuddenly brought to Rome, that the people of Antium had ſeized and confiſcated the ſhips belonging to Gelon's am-

continuance, gave them hopes of evading the judgment, ſince there would be time for the people to become more tractable, to moderate their anger, or perhaps let it entirely evaporate in the buſineſs of that expedition. But they ſoon made peace with the Antiates, and returned; whereupon, the fears of the ſenate were renewed, and they often met to conſider how things might be ſo managed, that they ſhould neither give up Marcius, nor leave room for the tribunes to throw the people into new diſorders. On this occaſion, Appius Claudius, who was the moſt violent adverſary the commons had, declared, "That the ſenate "would betray and ruin themſelves, and abſolutely deſtroy "the conſtitution, if they ſhould once ſuffer the plebeians "to aſſume a power of ſuffrage againſt the patricians." But the oldeſt and moſt popular of the ſenators* were of opinion, "That the people, inſtead of behaving with more "harſhneſs and ſeverity, would become mild and gentle, "if that power were indulged them; ſince they did not "deſpiſe the ſenate, but rather thought themſelves deſpiſed by it; and the prerogative of judging would be ſuch "an honor to them, that they would be perfectly ſatisfied, and immediately lay aſide all reſentment."

Marcius, then ſeeing the ſenate perplexed between their regard for him and fear of the people, aſked the tribunes, "What they accuſed him of, and upon what charge he "was to be tried before the people?" Being told, "That "he would be tried for treaſon againſt the commonwealth, "in deſigning to ſet himſelf up as a tyrant;"† "Let me "go then," ſaid he, to the people, "and make my de"fence; I refuſe no form of trial, nor any kind of puniſhment if I be found guilty. Only allege no other "crime againſt me, and do not impoſe upon the ſenate." The tribunes agreed to theſe conditions, and promiſed that the cauſe ſhould turn upon this one point.

haſſadors in their return into Sicily, and had even impriſoned the ambaſſadors. Hereupon they took up arms to chaſtiſe the Antiates, but they ſubmitted and made ſatisfaction.

* Valerius was at the head of theſe. He inſiſted alſo at large on the horrible conſequences of a civil war.

† It was never known that any perſon, who affected to ſet himſelf up tyrant, joined with the nobility againſt the people, but on the contrary conſpired with the people againſt the nobility. "Beſides," ſaid he, in his defence, "It was to ſave theſe citizens, that "I have received the wounds you ſee; let the tribunes ſhow, if "they can, how ſuch actions are conſiſtent with the treacherous "deſigns they lay to my charge."

But the firſt thing they did, after the people were aſſembled, was to compel them to give their voices by tribes,* and not by centuries; thus contriving that the meaneſt and moſt ſeditious part of the populace, and thoſe who had no regard to juſtice or honor, might outvote ſuch as had borne arms, or were of ſome fortune and character. In the next place, they paſſed by the charge of his affecting the ſovereignty, becauſe they could not prove it, and, inſtead of it, repeated what Marcius ſome time before had ſaid in the ſenate, againſt lowering the price of corn, and for aboliſhing the tribunitial power. And they added to the impeachment a new article, namely, his not bringing into the public treaſury the ſpoils† he had taken in the country of the Antiates, but dividing them among the ſoldiers. This laſt accuſation is ſaid to have diſcompoſed Marcius more than all the reſt; for it was what he did not expect, and he could not immediately think of an anſwer that would ſatisfy the commonalty; the praiſes he beſtowed upon thoſe who made that campaign with him, ſerving only to raiſe an outcry againſt him from the majority, who were not concerned in it. At laſt, when they came to vote, he was condemned by a majority of three tribes, and the penalty to be inflicted upon him was perpetual baniſhment.

After the ſentence was pronounced the people were more elated, and went off in greater tranſports, than they ever did on account of a victory in the field; the ſenate on the other hand were in the greateſt diſtreſs, and repented that they had not run the laſt riſk, rather than ſuffer the people to poſſeſs themſelves of ſo much power and uſe it in ſo inſolent a manner. There was no need then to look upon

* From the reign of Servius Tullius the voices had been always gathered by centuries. The conſuls were for keeping up the ancient cuſtom, being well appriſed, that they could ſave Coriolanus, if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the knights and the wealthieſt of the citizens made the majority, being pretty ſure of ninetyeight out of a hundred and ſeventythree. But the artful tribunes, alleging that, in an affair relating to the rights of the people, every citizen's vote ought to have its due weight, would not by any means conſent to let the voices be collected otherwiſe than by tribes.

† "This," ſaid the tribune Decius, "is a plain proof of his evil "deſigns; with the public money he ſecured to himſelf creatures "and guards, and ſupporters of his intended uſurpation. Let him "make it appear that he had power to diſpoſe of this booty with- "out violating the laws. Let him anſwer directly to this one ar- "ticle without dazzling us with the ſplendid ſhow of his crowns "and ſcars, or uſing any other arts to blind the aſſembly."

their dreſs, or any other mark of diſtinction, to know which was a plebeian, and which a patrician; the man that exulted was a plebeian; and the man that was dejected a patrician.

Marcius alone was unmoved and unhumbled. Still lofty in his port and firm in his countenance, he appeared not to be ſorry for himſelf, and to be the only one of the nobility that was not. This air of fortitude was not, however, the effect of reaſon or moderation, but the man was buoyed up by anger and indignation. And this, though the vulgar know it not, has its riſe from grief, which, when it catches flame, is turned to anger, and then bids adieu to all feebleneſs and dejection. Hence, the angry man is courageous, juſt as he who has a fever is hot, the mind being upon the ſtretch and in a violent agitation. His ſubſequent behavior ſoon ſhowed that he was thus affected. For having returned to his own houſe, and embraced his mother and his wife, who lamented their fate with the weakneſs of women, he exhorted them to bear it with patience, and then haſtened to one of the city gates, being conducted by the patricians in a body. Thus he quited Rome, without aſking or receiving aught at any man's hand; and took with him only three or four clients. He ſpent a few days in a ſolitary manner at ſome of his farms near the city, agitated with a thouſand different thoughts, ſuch as his anger ſuggeſted; in which he did not propoſe any advantage to himſelf, but conſidered only how he might ſatisfy his revenge againſt the Romans. At laſt he determined to ſpirit up a cruel war againſt them from ſome neighboring nation; and for this purpoſe to apply firſt to the Volſcians, whom he knew to be yet ſtrong both in men and money, and whom he ſuppoſed to be rather exaſperated and provoked to father conflicts, than abſolutely ſubdued.

There was then a perſon at Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name,* highly diſtinguiſhed among the Volſcians, by his wealth, his valor, and noble birth. Marcius was very ſenſible, that of all the Romans, himſelf was the man whom Tullus moſt hated. For, excited by ambition and emulation, as young warriors uſually are, they had in ſeveral

* In Bryan's text, it is Αμφιδιος. The *Bodleian* has it without the μ, Αφιδιος. But Livy and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus call him Tullus Attius; and with them an anonymous MS. agrees. *Afidius*, however, which is very near the Bodleian reading, has a Latin ſound, and probably was what Plutarch meant to write.

engagements, encountered each other with menaces, and bold defiances, and thus had added perſonal enmity to the hatred which reigned between the two nations. But notwithſtanding all this, conſidering the great generoſity of Tullus, and knowing that he was more deſirous than any of the Volſcians, of an opportunity to return upon the Romans part of the evils his country had ſuffered, he took a method which ſtrongly confirms that ſaying of the poet:

Stern Wrath, how ſtrong thy ſway! though life's the forfeit,
Thy purpoſe muſt be gain'd.

For, putting himſelf in ſuch clothes and habiliments, as were moſt likely to prevent his being known, like Ulyſſes,

He ſtole into the hoſtile town.

It was evening when he entered, and though many people met him in the ſtreets, not one of them knew him. He paſſed therefore on to the houſe of Tullus, where he got in undiſcovered, and having directly made up to the fire-place,* he ſeated himſelf without ſaying a word, covering his face and remaining in a compoſed poſture. The people of the houſe were very much ſurpriſed; yet they did not venture to diſturb him, for there was ſomething of dignity both in his perſon and his ſilence; but they went and related the ſtrange adventure to Tullus, who was then at ſupper. Tullus, upon this, roſe from table, and coming to Coriolanus, aſked him, *Who he was, and upon what buſineſs he was come?* Coriolanus, uncovering his face, pauſed awhile, and then thus addreſſed him: "If thou doſt "not yet know me, Tullus, but diſtruſteſt thy own eyes, I "muſt of neceſſity be my own accuſer. I am Caius Mar-"cius, who have brought ſo many calamities upon the "Volſcians, and bear the additional name of Coriolanus, "which will not ſuffer me to deny that imputation, were "I diſpoſed to it. For all the labors and dangers I have "undergone, I have no other reward left, but that appel-"lation which diſtinguiſhes my enmity to your nation, "and which cannot indeed be taken from me. Of every "thing elſe I am deprived by the envy and outrage of the "people, on the one hand, and the cowardice and treach-"ery of the magiſtrates and thoſe of my own order, on

* The fire place, having the domeſtic gods in it, was eſteemed ſacred; and therefore all ſuppliants reſorted to it, as to an aſylum.

"the other. Thus driven out an exile, I am come a ſup-
"pliant to thy houſehold gods; not for ſhelter and pro-
"tection, for why ſhould I come hither, if I were afraid
"of death? But for vengeance againſt thoſe who have ex-
"pelled me, which, methinks, I begin to take, by putting
"myſelf into thy hands. If, therefore, thou art diſpoſed
"to attack the enemy, come on, brave Tullus, avail thy-
"ſelf of my misfortunes; let my perſonal diſtreſs be the
"common happineſs of the Volſcians. You may be aſ-
"ſured, I ſhall fight much better for you than I have
"fought againſt you, becauſe they who know perfectly
"the ſtate of the enemy's affairs, are much more capable
"of annoying them, than ſuch as do not know them.—
"But if thou haſt given up all thoughts of war, I neither
"deſire to live, nor is it fit for thee to preſerve a perſon
"who of old has been thine enemy, and now is not able
"to do thee any ſort of ſervice."

Tullus, delighted with this addreſs, gave him his hand, and, "Riſe," ſaid he, "Marcius, and take courage. "The preſent you thus make of yourſelf is ineſtimable; "and you may aſſure yourſelf that the Volſcians will not "be ungrateful." Then he entertained him at his table with great kindneſs; and the next and the following days they conſulted together about the war.

Rome was then in great confuſion, by reaſon of the animoſity of the nobility againſt the commons, which was conſiderably heightened by the late condemnation of Marcius. Many prodigies were alſo announced by private perſons, as well as by the prieſts and diviners. One of which was as follows: Titus Latinus,* a man of no high rank, but of great modeſty and candor, not addicted to ſuperſtition, much leſs to vain pretences to what is extraordinary, had this dream. Jupiter, he thought, appeared to him, and ordered him to tell the ſenate, *That they had provided him a very bad and illfavored leader of the dance in the ſacred proceſſion.* When he had ſeen this viſion, he ſaid, he paid but little regard to it at firſt. It was preſented a ſecond and a third time, and he neglected it; whereupon he had the unhappineſs to ſee his ſon ſicken and die, and he himſelf was ſuddenly ſtruck in ſuch a manner, as to loſe the uſe of his limbs. Theſe particulars he related in the ſenate houſe, being carried on his couch for

* Livy calls him Titus Atinius.

that purpoſe. And he had no ſooner made an end, than he perceived, as they tell us, his ſtrength return, and roſe up, and walked home without help.

The ſenate were much ſurpriſed, and made a ſtrict inquiry into the affair; the reſult of which was, that a certain houſeholder had delivered up one of his ſlaves, who had been guilty of ſome offence, to his other ſervants, with an order to whip him through the market place, and then put him to death. While they were executing this order, and ſcourging the wretch, who writhed himſelf, through the violence of pain, into various poſtures,* the proceſſion happened to come up. Many of the people that compoſed it, were fired with indignation, for the ſight was exceſſively diſagreeable, and ſhocking to humanity; yet nobody gave him the leaſt aſſiſtance; only curſes and execrations were vented againſt the man who puniſhed with ſo much cruelty. For in thoſe times they treated their ſlaves with great moderation, and this was natural, becauſe they worked and even eat with them. It was deemed a great puniſhment for a ſlave who had committed a fault to take up that piece of wood with which they ſupported the thill of a waggon, and carry it round the neighborhood. For he that was thus expoſed to the deriſion of the family and other inhabitants of the place, entirely loſt his credit, and was ſtyled *Furcifer*; the Romans calling that piece of timber *furca*, which the Greeks call *hypoſtates*, that is, a *ſupporter*.

When Latinus had given the ſenate an account of his dream, and they doubted *who this ill favored and bad leader of the dance* might be, the exceſſive ſeverity of the puniſhment put ſome of them in mind of the ſlave, who was whipped through the market place, and afterwards put to death. All the prieſts agreeing that he muſt be the perſon meant, his maſter had a heavy fine laid upon him, and the proceſſion and games were exhibited anew, in honor of Jupiter. Hence it appears, that Numa's religious inſtitutions in general are very wiſe, and that this in particular is highly conducive to the purpoſes of piety, namely, that when the magiſtrates or prieſts are employed in any ſacred ceremony, a herald goes before, and proclaims aloud, *Hoc age*, i. e. *be attentive to this*; hereby commanding every

* According to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, the maſter had given orders that the ſlave ſhould be puniſhed at the head of the proceſſion, to make the ignominy the more notorious; which was a ſtill greater affront to the deity, in whoſe honor the proceſſion was led up.

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body to regard the ſolemn acts of religion, and not to ſuffer any buſineſs or avocation to intervene and diſturb them; as well knowing, that men's attention, eſpecially in what concerns the worſhip of the gods, is ſeldom fixed, but by a ſort of violence and conſtraint.

But it is not only in ſo important a caſe, that the Romans begin anew their ſacrifices, their proceſſions and games: They do it for very ſmall matters. If one of the horſes that draw the chariots called *Tenſæ*, in which are placed the images of the gods, happened to ſtumble, or if the charioteer took the reins in his left hand, the whole proceſſion was to be repeated. And in later ages they have ſet about one ſacrifice thirty ſeveral times, on account of ſome defect or inauſpicious appearance in it. Such reverence have the Romans paid to the Supreme Being.

Mean time Marcius and Tullus held ſecret conferences with the principal Volſcians, in which they exhorted them to begin the war, while Rome was torn in pieces with factious diſputes; but a ſenſe of honor reſtrained ſome of them from breaking the truce which was concluded for two years. The Romans, however, furniſhed them with a pretence for it, having, through ſome ſuſpicion or falſe ſuggeſtion, cauſed proclamation to be made at one of the public ſhows or games, that all the Volſcians ſhould quit the town before ſun ſet. Some ſay, it was a ſtratagem contrived by Marcius, who ſuborned a perſon to go to the conſuls, and accuſe the Volſcians of a deſign to attack the Romans during the games, and to ſet fire to the city. This proclamation exaſperated the whole Volſcian nation againſt the Romans; and Tullus greatly aggravating the affront,* at laſt perſuaded them to ſend to Rome, to demand that the lands and cities which had been taken from them in the war, ſhould be reſtored. The ſenate having heard what the ambaſſadors had to ſay, anſwered with indignation: "That the Volſcians might be the "firſt to take up arms, but the Romans would be the laſt "to lay them down." Hereupon Tullus ſummoned a general aſſembly of his countrymen, whom he adviſed to ſend for Marcius, and, forgetting all paſt injuries, to

* "We alone," ſaid he, "of all the different nations now in "Rome, are not thought worthy to ſee the games. We alone, "like the profaneſt wretches and outlaws, are driven from a pub-"lic feſtival. Go, and tell in all your cities and villages the diſ-"tinguiſhing mark the Romans have put upon us."

reſt ſatisfied, that the ſervice he would do them, now their ally, would greatly exceed all the damage they had received from him, while their enemy.

Marcius accordingly was called in, and made an oration to the people; who found that he knew how to ſpeak as well as fight, and that he excelled in capacity as well as courage, and therefore they joined him in commiſſion with Tullus. As he was afraid that the Volſcians would ſpend much time in preparations, and ſo loſe a favorable opportunity for action, he left it to the magiſtrates and other principal perſons in Antium to provide troops and whatever elſe was neceſſary, while he, without making any ſet levies, took a number of volunteers, and with them overran the Roman territories before any body in Rome could expect it. There he made ſo much booty, that the Volſcians found it difficult to carry it off, and conſume it in the camp. But the great quantity of proviſions he collected, and the damage he did the enemy by committing ſuch ſpoil, was the leaſt part of the ſervice in this expedition. The great point he had in view in the whole matter, was to increaſe the people's ſuſpicions of the nobility. For while he ravaged the whole country, he was very attentive to ſpare the lands of the patricians, and to ſee that nothing ſhould be carried off from them. Hence, the ill opinion the two parties had of each other; and conſequently the troubles grew greater than ever; the patricians accuſing the plebeians of unjuſtly driving out one of the braveſt men in Rome, and the plebeians reproaching *them* with bringing Marcius upon them, to indulge their revenge, and with ſitting ſecure ſpectators of what others ſuffered by the war, while the war itſelf was a guard to their lands and ſubſiſtence. Marcius having thus effected his purpoſe, and inſpired the Volſcians with courage, not only to meet, but even to deſpiſe the enemy, drew off his party without being moleſted.

The Volſcian forces aſſembled with great expedition and alacrity; and they appeared ſo conſiderable, that it was thought proper to leave part to garriſon their towns, while the reſt marched againſt the Romans. Coriolanus leaving it in the option of Tullus, which corps he would command, Tullus obſerved, that as his colleague was not at all inferior to himſelf in valor, and had hitherto fought with better ſucceſs, he thought it moſt adviſable for *him* to lead the army into the field, while himſelf ſtayed behind to provide

for the defence of the towns, and to ſupply the troops that made the campaign with every thing neceſſary.*

Marcius, ſtregthened ſtill more by this diviſion of the command, marched firſt againſt Circeii,† a Roman colony; and as it ſurrendered without reſiſtance, he would not ſuffer it to be plundered. After this, he laid waſte the territories of the Latins, expecting that the Romans would hazard a battle, for the Latins who were their allies, and by frequent meſſengers called upon them for aſſiſtance. But the commons of Rome ſhowed no alacrity in the affair, and the conſuls, whoſe office was almoſt expired, were not willing to run ſuch a riſk, and therefore rejected the requeſt of the Latins. Marcius then turned his arms againſt Tolerium, Labici, Pedum, and Bola, cities of Latium; which he took by aſſault, and becauſe they made reſiſtance, ſold the inhabitants as ſlaves, and plundered their houſes. At the ſame time he took particular care of ſuch as voluntarily came over to him; and that they might not ſuſtain any damage againſt his will, he always encamped at the greateſt diſtance he could, and would not even touch upon their lands, if he could avoid it.

Afterwards he took Bollæ, which is little more than twelve miles from Rome, where he put to the ſword almoſt all that were of age to bear arms, and got much plunder. The reſt of the Volſcians, who were left as a ſafeguard to the towns, had not patience to remain at home any longer, but ran with their weapons in their hands to Marcius, declaring that they knew no other leader or general but him. His name and his valor were renowned through Italy. All were aſtoniſhed that one man's changing ſides could make ſo prodigious an alteration in affairs.

Nevertheleſs, there was nothing but diſorder at Rome. The Romans refuſed to fight, and paſſed their time in cabals, ſeditious ſpeeches, and mutual complaints; until news was brought that Coriolanus had laid ſiege to Lavinium, where

* It would have been very imprudent in Tullus to have left Coriolanus, who had been an enemy, and now might poſſibly be only a pretended friend, at the head of an army in the bowels of his country, while he was marching at the head of another againſt Rome.

† For the right terminations of this, and other towns ſoon after mentioned, ſee Livy, book ii. c. 39. Plutarch calls the town *Circæum*. His error is much greater, when a little below he writes *Cœliæ* inſtead of *Cluiliæ*. Sometimes, too, the former tranſlator makes a miſtake, where Plutarch had made none.

the holy ſymbols of the gods of their fathers were placed, and from whence they derived their original, that being the firſt city which Æneas built. A wonderful and univerſal change of opinion then appeared among the people, and a very ſtrange and abſurd one among the patricians. The people were deſirous to annul the ſentence againſt Marcius, and to recal him to Rome, but the ſenate being aſſembled to deliberate on that point, finally rejected the propoſition; either out of a perverſe humor of oppoſing whatever meaſure the people eſpouſed, or perhaps unwilling that Coriolanus ſhould owe his return to the favor of the people; or elſe having conceived ſome reſentment againſt him for haraſſing and diſtreſſing all the Romans, when he had been injured only by a part, and for ſhowing himſelf an enemy to his country, in which he knew the moſt reſpectable body had both ſympathiſed with him, and ſhared in his ill treatment; this reſolution being announced to the commons,* it was not in their power to proceed to vote or to paſs a bill; for a previous decree of the ſenate was neceſſary.

At this news Coriolanus was ſtill more exaſperated, ſo that quitting the ſiege of Lavinium,† he marched in great fury towards Rome, and encamped only five miles from it, at the *Foſſæ Cluiliæ*. The ſight of him cauſed great terror and confuſion, but for the preſent it appeaſed the ſedition; for neither magiſtrate nor ſenator durſt any longer oppoſe the people's deſire to recal him. When they ſaw the women running up and down the ſtreets, and the ſupplications and tears of the aged men at the altars of the gods, when all courage and ſpirit were gone, and ſalutary councils were no more; then they acknowledged that the people were right in endeavoring to be reconciled to Coriolanus, and that the ſenate were under a great miſtake, in beginning to indulge the paſſions of anger and revenge, at a time when they ſhould have renounced them. All, therefore, agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to Coriolanus to offer him liberty to return, and to entreat him to put an end to the war. Thoſe that went on the part of the ſenate, being all either relations

* Perhaps the ſenate now refuſed to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themſelves from the ſuſpicion of maintaining a correſpondence with Coriolanus, or poſſibly out of that magnanimity which made the Romans averſe to peace, when they were attended with bad ſucceſs in war.

† He left a body of troops to continue the blockade.

or friends of Coriolanus, expected at the firſt interview much kindneſs from a man who was thus connected with them. But it happened quite otherwiſe; for being conducted through the Volſcian ranks, they found him ſeated in council, with a number of great officers, and with an inſufferable appearance of pomp and ſeverity. He bade them then declare their buſineſs, which they did in a very modeſt and humble manner, as became the ſtate of their affairs.

When they had made an end of ſpeaking, he anſwered them with much bitterneſs and high reſentment of the injuries done him; and, as general of the Volſcians, he inſiſted "That the Romans ſhould reſtore all the cities and "lands which they had taken in the former wars; and "that they ſhould grant by decree the freedom of the city "to the Volſcians, as they had done to the Latins; for "that no laſting peace could be made between the two "nations, but upon theſe juſt and equal conditions."— He gave them thirty days to conſider of them; and having diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, he immediately retired from the Roman territories.

Several among the Volſcians, who for a long time had envied his reputation, and been uneaſy at the intereſt he had with the people, availed themſelves of this circumſtance to calumniate and reproach him. Tullus himſelf was of the number. Not that he had received any particular injury from Coriolanus; but he was led away by a paſſion too natural to man. It gave him pain to find his own glory obſcured, and himſelf entirely neglected by the Volſcians, who looked upon Coriolanus as their ſupreme head, and thought that others might well be ſatisfied with that portion of power and authority which he thought proper to allow them. Hence, ſecret hints were firſt given, and in their private cabals, his enemies expreſſed their diſſatisfaction, giving the name of treaſon to his retreat. For though he had not betrayed their cities or armies, yet they ſaid he had traitorouſly given up time, by which theſe and all other things are both won and loſt. He had allowed them a reſpite of no leſs than thirty days,* knowing their affairs

* So Dacier paraphraſes ὁ μειζοτας, ὁδ' ἐν ἐλαττονι χρονω λαμβανειν μεταβολας, and his paraphraſe ſeems neareſt the ſound of the Greek. But the text is manifeſtly corrupted, and it is not eaſy to reſtore the true reading. Perhaps the Latin tranſlation, as publiſhed by Bryan, has the ſenſe intended by Plutarch. It is to this effect, *when*

to be ſo embarraſſed, that they wanted ſuch a ſpace to re-eſtabliſh them.

Coriolanus, however, did not ſpend thoſe thirty days idly. He haraſſed the enemy's allies,* laid waſte their lands, and took ſeven great and populous cities in that interval. The Romans did not venture to ſend them any ſuccors. They were as ſpiritleſs, and as little diſpoſed to the war, as if their bodies had been relaxed and benumbed with the palſy.

When the term was expired, and Coriolanus returned with all his forces, they ſent a ſecond embaſſy, "To entreat him to lay aſide his reſentment, to draw off the Volſcians from their territories, and then to proceed as ſhould ſeem moſt conducive to the advantage of both nations. For that the Romans would not give up any thing through fear; but if he thought it reaſonable that the Volſcians ſhould be indulged in ſome particular points, they would be duly conſidered if they laid down their arms." Coriolanus replied, "That as general of the Volſcians, he would give them no anſwer; but as one who was yet a citizen of Rome, he would adviſe and exhort them to entertain humble thoughts, and to come within three days with a ratification of the juſt conditions he had propoſed. At the ſame time he aſſured them, that if their reſolutions ſhould be of a different nature, it would not be ſafe for them to come any more into his camp with empty words."

The ſenate having heard the report of the ambaſſadors, conſidered the commonwealth as ready to ſink in the waves of a dreadful tempeſt, and therefore caſt the laſt, the *ſacred anchor*, as it is called. They ordered all the prieſts of the gods, the miniſters and guardians of the myſteries, and all that, by the ancient uſage of their country, practiſed divination by the flight of birds, to go to Coriolanus, in their robes, with the enſigns which they bear in the duties of their office, and exert their utmoſt endeavors to perſuade him to deſiſt from the war, and then to treat with his countrymen of articles of peace for the Volſcians. When they came, he did indeed vouchſafe to admit them into the camp, but

greater changes, than were neceſſary in this caſe, *might happen in a leſs ſpace of time.* But to juſtify that tranſlation, the Greek ſhould run as follows: ὁτε μειζονας ἐν ἐλαττονι χρονῳ ἐδυναντο (ſcilicet πολεμειν) λαμβανειν μεταβολας.

* By this he prevented the allies of the Romans from aſſiſting them, and guarded againſt the charge of treachery, which ſome of the Volſcians were ready to bring againſt him.

ſhowed them no other favor, nor gave them a milder anſwer than the others had received; "He bade them," in ſhort, "either accept the former propoſals, or prepare for war."

When the prieſts returned, the Romans reſolved to keep cloſe within the city and to defend the walls; intending only to repulſe the enemy, ſhould he attack them, and placing their chief hopes on the accidents of time and fortune; for they knew of no reſource within themſelves: The city was full of trouble and confuſion, terror and unhappy preſages. At laſt ſomething happened ſimilar to what is often mentioned by Homer, but which men, in general, are little inclined to believe. For when on occaſion of any great and uncommon event, he ſays,

> Pallas inſpir'd that counſel;

And again,

> But ſome immortal power who rules the mind,
> Chang'd their reſolves;

And elſewhere,

> The thought ſpontaneous riſing,
> Or by ſome god inſpir'd——

They deſpiſe the poet, as if, for the ſake of abſurd notions and incredible fables, he endeavored to take away our liberty of will. A thing which Homer never dreamed of; for whatever happens in the ordinary courſe of things, and is the effect of reaſon and conſideration, he often aſcribes to our own powers; as,

> ——My own great mind
> I then conſulted;

And in another place,

> Achilles heard with grief; and various thoughts
> Perplex'd his mighty mind;

Once more,

> ——But ſhe in vain
> Tempted Bellerophon. The noble youth
> With Wiſdom's ſhield was arm'd.

And in extraordinary and wonderful actions, which require ſome ſupernatural impulſe and enthuſiaſtic movement, he never introduces the Deity as depriving man of freedom of will, but as moving the will. He does not repreſent the heavenly power as producing the reſolution, but ideas,

which lead to the reſolution. The act, therefore, is by no means involuntary, ſince occaſion only is given to free operations, and confidence and good hope are ſuperadded. For either the Supreme Being muſt be excluded from all cauſalty and influence upon our actions, or it muſt be confeſſed that this is the only way in which he aſſiſts men and cooperates with them; ſince it is not to be ſuppoſed that he faſhions our corporeal organs, or directs the motions of our hands and feet to the purpoſes he deſigns, but that by certain motives and ideas which he ſuggeſts, he either excites the active powers of the will, or elſe reſtrains them.*

The Roman women were then diſperſed in the ſeveral temples, but the greateſt part and the moſt illuſtrious of the matrons made their ſupplications at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among the laſt was Valeria, the ſiſter of the great Publicola, a perſon who had done the Romans the moſt conſiderable ſervices both in peace and war. Publicola died ſome time before, as we have related in his life; but Valeria ſtill lived in the greateſt eſteem; for her life did honor to her high birth. This woman diſcerning, by ſome divine impulſe, what would be the beſt expedient, roſe and called upon the other matrons to attend her to the houſe of Volumnia,† the mother of Coriolanus. When ſhe entered, and found her ſitting with her daughter in law, and with the children of Coriolanus on her lap, ſhe approached her with her female companions, and ſpoke to this effect: "We addreſs ourſelves to you, Volumnia and "Vergilia, as women to women, without any decree of "the ſenate or order of the conſuls. But our god, we "believe, lending a merciful ear to our prayers, put it in "our minds to apply to you, and to entreat you to do a "thing that will not only be ſalutary to us and the other "citizens, but more glorious for you, if you harken to "us, than the reducing their fathers and huſbands from "mortal enmity to peace and friendſhip, was to the daughters of the Sabines. Come then, go along with us to "Coriolanus; join your inſtances to ours; and give a true "and honorable teſtimony to your country, that though "ſhe has received the greateſt injuries from him, yet ſhe

* Plutarch repreſents the divine aſſiſtance as a *moral influence*, prevailing (if it does prevail) by rational motives. And the beſt Chriſtian divines deſcribe it in the ſame manner.

† Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus and Livy call his mother Veturia, and his wife Volumnia.

"has neither done nor reſolved upon any thing againſt "you in her anger, but reſtores you ſafe into his hands, "though perhaps ſhe may not obtain any better terms to "herſelf on that account."

When Valeria had thus ſpoken, the reſt of the women joined her requeſt. Volumnia gave them this anſwer: "Beſide the ſhare which we have in the general calamity, "we are, my friends, in particular very unhappy; ſince "Marcius is loſt to us, his glory obſcured, and his virtue "gone; ſince we behold him ſurrounded by the arms of "the enemies of his country, not as their priſoner, but "their commander. But it is ſtill a greater misfortune "to us, if our country is become ſo weak, as to have "need to repoſe her hopes upon us. For I know not "whether he will have any regard for us, ſince he has had "none for his country, which he uſed to prefer to his "mother, to his wife and children. Take us, however, "and make what uſe of us you pleaſe. Lead us to him. "If we can do nothing elſe, we can expire at his feet in "ſupplicating for Rome."

She then took the children and Vergilia with her,* and went with the other matrons to the Volſcian camp. The ſight of them produced, even in the enemy, compaſſion and a reverential ſilence. Coriolanus, who then happened to be ſeated upon the tribunal with his principal officers, ſeeing the women approach, was greatly agitated and ſurpriſed. Nevertheleſs, he endeavored to retain his wonted ſternneſs and inexorable temper, though he perceived that his wife was at the head of them. But unable to reſiſt the emotions of affection, he could not ſuffer them to addreſs him as he ſat. He deſcended from the tribunal, and ran to meet them. Firſt he embraced his mother for a conſiderable time, and afterwards his wife and children, neither refraining from tears nor any other inſtance of natural tenderneſs.

When he had ſufficiently indulged his paſſion, and perceived that his mother wanted to ſpeak, he called the Volſcian counſellors to him, and Volumnia expreſſed her-

* Valeria firſt gave advice of this deſign to the conſuls, who propoſed it in the ſenate, where, after long debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then Veturia, and the moſt illuſtrious of the Roman matrons, in chariots which the conſuls had ordered to be got ready for them, took their way to the enemy's camp.

ſelf to this purpoſe; "You ſee, my ſon, by our attire and "miſerable looks, and therefore I may ſpare myſelf the "trouble of declaring, to what condition your baniſhment "has reduced us. Think with yourſelf whether we are "not the moſt unhappy of women, when fortune has "changed the ſpectacle that ſhould have been the moſt "pleaſing in the world, into the moſt dreadful; when "Volumina beholds her ſon, and Vergilia her huſband, "encamped in a hoſtile manner before the walls of his "native city. And what to others is the greateſt conſola-"tion under misfortune and adverſity, I mean prayer to "the gods, to us is rendered impracticable; for we cannot "at the ſame time beg victory for our country and your "preſervation, but what our worſt enemies would imprecate "on us as a curſe, muſt of neceſſity be interwoven with our "prayers. Your wife and children muſt either ſee their "country periſh, or you. As to my own part, I will not "live to ſee this war decided by fortune. If I cannot per-"ſuade you to perſer friendſhip and union to enmity and "its ruinous conſequences, and ſo to become a benefactor "to both ſides, rather than the deſtruction of one, you "muſt take this along with you, and prepare to expect it, "that you ſhall not advance againſt your country, without "trampling upon the dead body of her that bore you. For "it does not become me to wait for that day, when my ſon "ſhall be either led captive by his fellow citizens, or "triumph over Rome. If, indeed, I deſired you to ſave "your country by ruining the Volſcians, I confeſs the caſe "would be hard and the choice difficult; for it would "neither be honorable to deſtroy your countrymen, nor "juſt to betray thoſe who have placed their confidence in "you. But what do we deſire of you, more than deliver-"ance from our own calamities? A deliverance which will "be equally ſalutary to both parties,* but moſt to the "honor of the Volſcians, ſince it will appear that their "ſuperiority empowered them to grant us the greateſt of "bleſſings, peace and friendſhip, while they themſelves "receive the ſame. If theſe take place, you will be ac-"knowledged to be the principal cauſe of them; if they do "not, you alone muſt expect to bear the blame from both "nations. And though the chance of war is uncertain, "yet it will be the certain event of this, that if you con-

* She begged a truce for a year, that in that time meaſures might be taken for ſettling a ſolid and laſting peace.

"quer, you will be a deſtroying demon to your country; "if you are beaten, it will be clear that by indulging your "reſentment, you have plunged your friends and bene- "factors in the greateſt of misfortunes."

Coriolanus liſtened to his mother while ſhe went on with her ſpeech, without ſaying the leaſt word to her; and Volumnia ſeeing him ſtand a long time mute after ſhe had left ſpeaking, proceeded again in this manner: "Why are "you ſilent, my ſon? Is it an honor to yield every thing "to anger and reſentment, and would it be a diſgrace to "yield to your mother in ſo important a petition? Or does "it become a great man to remember the injuries done "him, and would it not equally become a great and good "man with the higheſt regard and reverence to keep in "mind the benefits he has received from his parents? "Surely you, of all men, ſhould take care to be grateful, "who have ſuffered ſo extremely by ingratitude. And "yet, though you have already ſeverely puniſhed your "country, you have not made your mother the leaſt return "for her kindneſs. The moſt ſacred ties both of nature "and religion without any other conſtraint require that "you ſhould indulge me in this juſt and reaſonable requeſt; "but if words cannot prevail, this only reſource is left." When ſhe had ſaid this, ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, together with his wife and children; upon which Coriolanus crying out, "O mother; what is it you have done?" raiſed her from the ground, and tenderly preſſing her hand, continued, "You have gained a victory fortunate for your "country, but ruinous to me.* I go, vanquiſhed by you "alone." Then, after a ſhort conference with his mother and wife in private, he ſent them back to Rome, agreeably to their deſire. Next morning he drew off the Volſcians, who had not all the ſame ſentiments of what had paſſed. Some blamed him; others, whoſe inclination were for peace, found no fault; others again, though they diſliked what was done, did not look upon Coriolanus as a bad man, but thought he was excuſable in yielding to ſuch powerful ſolicitations. However, none preſumed to contradict his orders, though they followed him rather out of veneration for his virtue, than regard to his authority.

The ſenſe of the dreadful and dangerous circumſtances which the Roman people had been in by reaſon of the war,

* He well foreſaw that the Volſcians would never forgive him the favor he did their enemies.

never appeared ſo ſtrong as when they were delivered from it. For no ſooner did they perceive from the walls, that the Volſcians were drawing off, than all the temples were opened and filled with perſons crowned with garlands, and offering ſacrifice, as for ſome great victory. But in nothing was the public joy more evident, than in the affectionate regard and honor which both the ſenate and people paid the women, whom they both conſidered and declared the means of their preſervation. Nevertheleſs, when the ſenate decreed,* that whatever they thought would contribute moſt to their glory and ſatisfaction, the conſuls ſhould take care to ſee it done, they only deſired that a temple might be built to the FORTUNE OF WOMEN, the expenſe of which they offered to defray themſelves, requiring the commonwealth to be at no other charge than that of ſacrifices, and ſuch a ſolemn ſervice as was ſuitable to the majeſty of the gods. The ſenate, though they commended their generoſity, ordered the temple and ſhrine to be erected at the public charge;† but the women contributed their money notwithſtanding, and with it provided another image of the goddeſs, which the Romans report, when it was ſet up in the temple, to have uttered theſe words: O WOMEN! MOST ACCEPTABLE TO THE GODS IS THIS YOUR PIOUS GIFT.

They fabulouſly report that this voice was repeated twice, thus offering to our faith things that appear impoſſible. Indeed, we will not deny that images may have ſweated, may have been covered with tears, and emitted drops like blood. For wood and ſtone often contract a ſcurf and mouldineſs, that produces moiſture; and they not only exhibit many different colors themſelves, but receive variety of tinctures from the ambient air: At the ſame time there is no reaſon why the Deity may not make uſe of theſe ſigns to announce things to come. It is alſo very poſſible that a ſound like that of a ſigh or a groan may proceed from a ſtatue, by the rupture or violent ſeparation of ſome of the interior parts; but that an articulate voice and expreſſion ſo

* It was decreed that an encomium of thoſe matrons ſhould be engraven on a public monument.

† It was erected in the Latin way, about four miles from Rome, on the place were Veturia had overcome the obſtinacy of her ſon. Valeria, who had propoſed ſo ſucceſsful a deputation, was the firſt prieſteſs of this temple, which was much frequented by the Roman women. *Dion. Halicar.* p. 479, 480. *Liv.* lib. ii. c. 40.

clear, ſo full and perfect, ſhould fall from a thing inanimate, is out of all the bounds of poſſibility. For neither the ſoul of man, nor even God himſelf, can utter vocal ſounds, and pronounce words, without an organized body and parts fitted for utterance. Wherever, then, hiſtory aſſerts ſuch things and bears us down with the teſtimony of many credible witneſſes, we muſt conclude, that ſome impreſſion, not unlike that of ſenſe, influenced the imagination, and produced the belief of a real ſenſation; as in ſleep we ſeem to hear what we hear not, and to ſee what we do not ſee. As for thoſe perſons, who are poſſeſſed with ſuch a ſtrong ſenſe of religion, that they cannot reject any thing of this kind, they found their faith on the wonderful and incomprehenſible power of God. For there is no manner of reſemblance between him and a human being, either in his nature, his wiſdom, his power, or his operations. If, therefore, he performs ſomething which we cannot effect, and executes what with us is impoſſible, there is nothing in this contradictory to reaſon; ſince, though he far excels us in every thing, yet the diſſimilitude and diſtance between him and us, appears moſt of all in the works which he hath wrought. But *much knowledge of things divine*, as Heraclitus affirms, *eſcapes us through want of faith.*

When Coriolanus returned, after this expedition, to Antium, Tullus who both hated and feared him, reſolved to aſſaſſinate him immediately; being perſuaded, that if he miſſed this, he ſhould not have ſuch another opportunity. Firſt, therefore, he collected and prepared a number of accomplices, and then called upon Coriolanus to diveſt himſelf of his authority, and give an account of his conduct to the Volſcians. Dreading the conſequence of being reduced to a private ſtation, while Tullus, who had ſo great an intereſt with his countrymen, was in power, he made anſwer, that if the Volſcians required it, he would give up his commiſſion, and not otherwiſe, ſince he had taken it at their common requeſt; but that he was ready to give an account of his behavior even then, if the citizens of Antium would have it ſo. Hereupon, they met in full aſſembly, and ſome of the orators that were prepared for it, endeavored to exaſperate the populace againſt him. But when Coriolanus ſtood up, the violence of the tumult abated, and he had liberty to ſpeak; the beſt part of the people of Antium, and thoſe that were moſt inclined to peace, appearing ready to hear him with candor, and to paſs ſentence *with equity*. Tullus was then afraid that he would make

but too good a defence; for he was an eloquent man, and the former advantages which he had procured the nation, outweighed his preſent offence. Nay, the very impeachment was a clear proof of the greatneſs of the benefits he had conferred upon them. For they would never have thought themſelves injured, in not conquering Rome, if they had not been near taking it through his means. The conſpirators, therefore, judged it prudent not to wait any longer, or to try the multitude; and the boldeſt of their faction, crying out that a traitor ought not to be heard, or ſuffered by the Volſcians to act the tyrant, and refuſe to lay down his authority, ruſhed upon him in a body, and* killed him on the ſpot; not one that was preſent lifting a hand to defend him. It was ſoon evident that this was not done with the general approbation; for they aſſembled from ſeveral cities to give his body an honorable burial,† and adorned his monument with arms and ſpoils, as became a diſtinguiſhed warrior and general.

When the Romans were informed of his death, they ſhowed no ſign either of favor or reſentment. Only they permitted the women, at their requeſt, to go into mourning for ten months, as they uſed to do for a father, a ſon, or a brother; this being the longeſt term for mourning allowed by Numa Pompilius, as we have mentioned in his life.

* Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays, they ſtoned him to death.

† They dreſſed him in his general's robes, and laid his corpſe on a magnificent bier, which was carried by ſuch young officers as were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their martial exploits. Before him were borne the ſpoils he had taken from the enemy, the crowns he had gained, and plans of the cities he had taken. In this order his body was laid on the pile, while ſeveral victims were ſlain in honor to his memory. When the pile was conſumed, they gathered up his aſhes, which they interred on the ſpot, and erected a magnificent monument there. Coriolanus was ſlain in the ſecond year of the ſeventythird Olympiad, in the two hundred and ſixtyſixth year of Rome, and eight years after his firſt campaign. According to this account he died in the flower of his age; but Livy informs us from Fabius, a very ancient author, that he lived till he was very old; and that in the decline of life he was wont to ſay, that "A ſtate of exile was always uncomfortable, but more ſo to "an old man than to another." We cannot, however, think that Coriolanus grew old among the Volſcians. Had he done ſo, his counſels would have preſerved them from ruin; and, after Tullus was ſlain, he would have reſtored their affairs, and have got them admitted to the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, in the ſame manner as the Latins.

The Volſcian affairs ſoon wanted the abilities of Marcius. For, firſt of all, in a diſpute which they had with the Æqui, their friends and allies, which of the two nations ſhould give a general to their armies, they proceeded to blows, and a number were killed and wounded; and afterwards coming to a battle with the Romans, in which they were defeated, and Tullus, together with the flower of their army ſlain, they were forced to accept of very diſgraceful conditions of peace, by which they were reduced to the obedience of Rome, and obliged to accept of ſuch terms as the conquerors would allow them.

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS, COMPARED.

HAVING now given a detail of all the actions of theſe two great men, that we thought worthy to be known and remembered, we may perceive at one glance that as to their military exploits the balance is nearly even. For both gave extraordinary proofs of courage as ſoldiers, and of prudence and capacity as commanders in chief; though perhaps ſome may think Alcibiades the more complete general, on account of his many ſucceſsful expeditions at ſea as well as land. But this is common to both, that when they had the command, and fought in perſon, the affairs of their country infallibly proſpered, and as infallibly declined when they went over to the enemy.

As to their behavior in point of government, if the licentiouſneſs of Alcibiades, and his compliances with the humor of the populace, were abhorred by the wiſe and ſober part of the Athenians; the proud and forbidding manner of Coriolanus, and his exceſſive attachment to the patricians, were equally deteſted by the Roman people. In this reſpect, therefore, neither of them is to be commended; though he that avails himſelf of popular arts, and ſhows too much indulgence, is leſs blameable than he, who, to avoid the imputation of obſequiouſneſs, treats the people with ſeverity. It is, indeed, a diſgrace to attain to power by flattering them; but, on the other hand, to purſue it by acts of inſolence and oppreſſion, is not only ſhameful but unjuſt.

That Coriolanus had an openneſs and ſimplicity of manners, is a point beyond diſpute, whilſt Alcibiades was crafty and dark in the proceedings of his adminiſtration. The latter has been moſt blamed for the trick which he put upon the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors, as Thucydides tells us, and by which he renewed the war. Yet this ſtroke of policy, though it plunged Athens again in war, rendered the alliance with the Mantineans and Argives, which was brought about by Alcibiades, much ſtronger and more reſpectable. But was not Coriolanus chargeable with a falſity too, when, as Dionyſius informs us, he ſtirred up the Romans againſt the Volſcians, by loading the latter with an infamous calumny, when they went to ſee the public games? The cauſe, too, makes this action the more criminal; for it was not by ambition or a rival ſpirit in politics that he was influenced, as Alcibiades was; but he did it to gratify his anger, *a paſſion which*, as Dion ſays, *is ever ungrateful to its votaries*. By this means he diſturbed all Italy, and in his quarrel with his country deſtroyed many cities which had never done him any injury. Alcibiades, indeed, was the author of many evils to the Athenians, but was eaſily reconciled to them when he found that they repented. Nay, when he was driven a ſecond time into exile, he could not bear with patience the blunders committed by the new generals, nor ſee with indifference the dangers to which they were expoſed; but obſerved the ſame conduct which Ariſtides is ſo highly extolled for with reſpect to Themiſtocles. He went in perſon to thoſe generals, who, he knew, were not his friends, and ſhowed them what ſteps it was proper for them to take. Whereas Coriolanus directed his revenge againſt the whole commonwealth, though he had not been injured by the whole, but the beſt and moſt reſpectable part both ſuffered and ſympathiſed with him. And afterwards, when the Romans endeavored to make ſatisfaction for that ſingle grievance by many embaſſies and much ſubmiſſion, he was not in the leaſt pacified or won; but ſhowed himſelf determined to proſecute a cruel war, not in order to procure his return to his native country, but to conquer and to ruin it. It may, indeed, be granted, that there was this difference in the caſe; Alcibiades returned to the Athenians, when the Spartans, who both feared and hated him, intended to deſpatch him privately. But it was not ſo honorable in Coriolanus to deſert the Volſcians, who had treated him

with the utmoſt kindneſs, appointed him general with full authority, and repoſed in him the higheſt confidence; very different in this reſpect from Alcibiades, who was abuſed, to their own purpoſes, rather than employed and truſted by the Lacedæmonians; and, who, after having been toſſed about in their city and their camp, was at laſt obliged to put himſelf in the hands of Tiſſaphernes. But, perhaps, he made his court to the Perſian,* in order to prevent the utter ruin of his country, to which he was deſirous to return.

Hiſtory informs us, that Alcibiades often took bribes, which he laviſhed again with equal diſcredit upon his vicious pleaſures; while Coriolanus refuſed to receive even what the generals he ſerved under would have given him with honor. Hence the behavior of the latter was the more deteſted by the people in the diſputes about debts; ſince it was not with a view to advantage, but out of contempt and by way of inſult, as they thought, that he bore ſo hard upon them.

Antipater, in one of his epiſtles, where he ſpeaks of the death of Ariſtotle the philoſopher, tells us, "That great "man, beſides his other extraordinary talents, had the art "of inſinuating himſelf into the affections of thoſe he con-"verſed with." For want of this talent, the great actions and virtues of Coriolanus were odious even to thoſe who received the benefit of them, and who, notwithſtanding, could not endure *that auſterity which*, as Plato ſays, *is the companion of ſolitude*. But as Alcibiades, on the other hand, knew how to treat thoſe, with whom he converſed, with an engaging civility, it is no wonder if the glory of his exploits flouriſhed in the favor and honorable regard of mankind, ſince his very faults had ſometimes their grace and elegance. Hence it was, that though his conduct was often very prejudicial to Athens, yet he was frequently appointed commander in chief; while Coriolanus, after many great achievements, with the beſt pretenſions, ſued for the conſulſhip, and loſt it. The former deſerved to be hated by his countrymen, and was not; the latter was not beloved, though at the ſame time he was admired.

* For he prevented Tiſſaphernes from aſſiſting the Spartans with all his forces. Thus he ſerved the Atheniaas and the Perſians at the ſame time. For it was undoubtedly the intereſt of the Perſians to preſerve the two leading powers of Greece in a condition to annoy each other, and, in the mean time, to reap the advantage themſelves.

We ſhould, moreover, conſider, that Coriolanus performed no conſiderable ſervices, while he commanded the armies of his country, though for the enemy againſt his country he did; but that Alcibiades, both as a ſoldier and a general, did great things for the Athenians. When amongſt his fellow citizens, Alcibiades was ſuperior to all the attempts of his enemies, though their calumnies prevailed againſt him in his abſence; whereas Coriolanus was condemned by the Romans, though preſent to defend himſelf; and at length killed by the Volſcians, againſt all rights indeed, whether human or divine; nevertheleſs, he afforded them a color for what they did, by granting that peace to the entreaties of the women, which he had refuſed to the application of the ambaſſadors; by that means leaving the enmity between the two nations, and the grounds of the war entire, and loſing a very favorable opportunity for the Volſcians. For ſurely he would not have drawn off the forces without the conſent of thoſe that committed them to his conduct, if he had ſufficiently regarded his duty to them.

But if, without conſidering the Volſcians in the leaſt, he conſulted his reſentment only, in ſtirring up the war, and put a period to it again when that was ſatisfied, he ſhould not have ſpared his country on his mother's account, but have ſpared her with it; for both his mother and wife made a part of his native city which he was beſieging. But inhumanly to reject the application and entreaties of the ambaſſadors, and the petition of the prieſts, and then to conſent to a retreat in favor of his mother, was not doing honor to his mother, but bringing diſgrace upon his country; ſince, as if it was not worthy to be ſaved for its own ſake, it appeared to be ſaved only in compaſſion to a woman. For the favor was invidious, and ſo far from being engaging, that, in fact, it favored of cruelty, and conſequently was unacceptable to both parties. He retired without being won by the ſupplications of thoſe he was at war with, and without conſent of thoſe for whom he undertook it. The cauſe of all which was, the auſterity of his manners, his arrogance and inflexibility of mind, things hateful enough to the people at all times; but, when united with ambition, ſavage and intolerable. Perſons of his temper, as if they had no need of honors, neglect to ingratiate themſelves with the multitude, and yet are exceſſively chagrined when thoſe are denied them. It is true,

neither Metellus, nor Ariſtides, nor Epaminondas, were pliant to the people's humor, or could ſubmit to flatter them; but then they had a thorough contempt of every thing that the people could either give or take away; and when they were baniſhed, or, on any other occaſion, miſcarried in the ſuffrages, or were condemned in large fines, they nouriſhed no anger againſt their ungrateful countrymen, but were ſatisfied with their repentance, and reconciled to them at their requeſt. And, ſurely, he who is ſparing in his aſſiduities to the people, can but with an ill grace think of revenging any ſlight he may ſuffer; for extreme reſentment in caſe of diſappointment in a purſuit of honor, muſt be the effect of an extreme deſire of it.

Alcibiades, for his part readily acknowledged, that he was charmed with honors, and that he was very uneaſy at being neglected; and therefore he endeavored to recommend himſelf to thoſe he had to do with, by every engaging art. But the pride of Coriolanus would not permit him to make his court to thoſe who were capable of conferring honors upon him; and at the ſame time his ambition filled him with regret and indignation, when they paſſed him by. This, then, is the blameable part of his character; all the reſt is great and glorious. In point of temperance and diſregard of riches, he is fit to be compared with the moſt illuſtrious examples of integrity in Greece, and not with Alcibiades, who, in this reſpect, was the moſt profligate of men, and had the leaſt regard for decency and honor.

TIMOLEON.

THE affairs of the Syracuſans, before Timoleon was ſent into Sicily, were in this poſture: Dion having driven out Dionyſius the tyrant, was ſoon aſſaſſinated; thoſe that with him had been the means of delivering Syracuſe, were divided among themſelves; and the city, which only changed one tyrant for another, was oppreſſed with ſo many miſeries, that it was almoſt deſolate.* As for the

*Upon Dion's death, his murderer Calippus uſurped the ſupreme power; but after ten months he was driven out, and ſlain with the ſame dagger which he had planted in the breaſt of his friend. Hipparinus, the brother of Dionyſius, arriving with a numerous fleet poſ-

reſt of Sicily, the wars had made part of it quite a deſert, and moſt of the towns that remained were held by a confuſed mixture of barbarians and ſoldiers,* who having no regular pay, were ready for every change of government.

Such being the ſtate of things, Dionyſius, in the tenth year after his expulſion, having got together a body of foreigners, drove out Nyſæus then maſter of Syracuſe, reſtored his own affairs, and reeſtabliſhed himſelf in his dominions. Thus he who had been unaccountably ſtripped by a ſmall body of men of the greateſt power that any tyrant ever poſſeſſed, ſtill more unaccountably, of a beggarly fugitive, became the maſter of thoſe who had expelled him. All, therefore, who remained in Syracuſe, became ſlaves to a tyrant, who at the beſt was of an ungentle nature, and at that time exaſperated by his misfortunes to a degree of ſavage ferocity. But the beſt and moſt conſiderable of the citizens having retired to Icetes, prince of the Leontines, put themſelves under his protection, and choſe him for their general. Not that he was better than the moſt avowed tyrants; but they had no other reſource; and they were willing to repoſe ſome confidence in him, as being of a Syracuſan family, and having an army able to encounter that of Dionyſius.

In the mean time the Carthaginians appearing before Sicily with a great fleet, and being likely to avail themſelves of the diſordered ſtate of the iſland, the Sicilians, ſtruck with terror, determined to ſend an embaſſy into Greece, to beg aſſiſtance of the Corinthians; not only on account of their kindred to that people,† and the many ſervices they had received from them on former occaſions, but becauſe they knew that Corinth was always a patroneſs of liberty and an enemy to tyrants, and that ſhe had en-

ſeſſed himſelf of the city of Syracuſe, and held it for the ſpace of two years. Syracuſe and all Sicily being thus divided into parties and factions, Dionyſius the younger, who had been driven from the throne taking advantage of theſe troubles, aſſembled ſome foreign troops; and having defeated Nyſæus, who was then governor of Syracuſe, reinſtated himſelf in his dominions.

* τριτων αμισθων.—

† The Syracuſans were a colony from Corinth, founded by Archias the Corinthian, in the ſecond year of the eleventh Olympiad, ſeven hundred and thirtythree years before the Chriſtian era. Sicily had been planted with Phœnicians and other barbarous people, as the Grecians called them, above three hundred years before.

gaged in many conſiderable wars, not from a motive of ambition or avarice, but to maintain the freedom and independency of Greece. Hereupon Icetes, whoſe intention in accepting the command, was not ſo much to deliver Syracuſe from its tyrants, as to ſet up himſelf there in the ſame capacity, treated privately with the Carthaginians, while in public he commended the deſign of the Syracuſans, and deſpatched ambaſſadors along with theirs into Peloponneſus. Not that he was deſirous of ſuccours from thence, but he hoped that if the Corinthians, on account of the troubles of Greece and their engagements at home, ſhould, as it was likely enough, decline ſending any, he might the more eaſily incline the balance to the ſide of the Carthaginians, and then make uſe of their alliance and their forces, either againſt the Syracuſans or their preſent tyrant. That ſuch were his views, a little time diſcovered.

When the ambaſſadors arrived, and their buſineſs was known, the Corinthians, always accuſtomed to give particular attention to the concerns of the colonies, and eſpecially thoſe of Syracuſe, ſince by good fortune they had nothing to moleſt them in their own country, readily paſſed a vote that the ſuccours ſhould be granted. The next thing to be conſidered was, who ſhould be general; when the magiſtrates put in nomination ſuch as had endeavored to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſtate; but one of the plebeians ſtood up, and propoſed Timoleon, the ſon of Timodemus, who as yet had no ſhare in the buſineſs of the commonwealth, and was ſo far from hoping or wiſhing for ſuch an appointment, that it ſeemed ſome god inſpired him with the thought; with ſuch indulgence did fortune immediately promote his election, and ſo much did her favor afterwards ſignalize his actions, and add luſtre to his valor!

His parentage was noble on both ſides, for both his father Timodemus and his mother Demariſte were of the beſt families in Corinth. His love of his country was remarkable, and ſo was the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, ſaving that he bore an extreme hatred to tyrants and wicked men. His natural abilities for war were ſo happily tempered, that as an extraordinary prudence was ſeen in the enterpriſes of his younger years, ſo an undaunted courage diſtinguiſhed his declining age. He had an elder brother, named Timophanes, who reſembled him in nothing; being raſh and indiſcreet of himſelf, and utterly corrupted beſides, by the paſſion for ſovereignty, infuſed into him by ſome of

his profligate acquaintance, and certain foreign ſoldiers whom he had always about him. He appeared to be impetuous in war, and to court danger, which gave his countrymen ſuch an opinion of his courage and activity, that they frequently intruſted him with the command of the army. And in theſe matters Timoleon much aſſiſted him, by entirely concealing, or at leaſt extenuating his faults, and magnifying the good qualities which nature had given him.

In a battle between the Corinthians and the troops of Argos and Cleone, Timoleon happened to ſerve among the infantry, when Timophanes, who was at the head of the cavalry, was brought into extreme danger; for his horſe being wounded, threw him amidſt the enemy. Hereupon, part of his companions were frightened, and preſently diſperſed; and the few that remained, having to fight with numbers, with difficulty ſtood their ground. Timoleon, ſeeing his brother in theſe circumſtances, ran to his aſſiſtance, and covered him as he lay, with his ſhield, and after having received abundance of darts and many ſtrokes of the ſword upon his body and his armor, by great efforts repulſed the enemy, and ſaved him.

Some time after this, the Corinthians apprehenſive that their city might be ſurpriſed through ſome treachery of their allies, as it had been before reſolved to keep on foot four hundred mercenaries, gave the command of them to Timophanes. But he having no regard to juſtice or honor, ſoon entered into meaſures to ſubject the city to himſelf, and having put to death a number of the principal inhabitants without form of trial, declared himſelf abſolute prince of it. Timoleon, greatly concerned at this, and accounting the treacherous proceedings of his brother, his own misfortune, went to expoſtulate with him, and endeavored to perſuade him to renounce this madneſs and unfortunate ambition, and to bethink himſelf how to make his fellow citizens ſome amends for the crimes he had committed. But as he rejected his ſingle admonition with diſdain, he returned a few days after, taking with him a kinſman, named Æſchylus, brother to the wife of Timophanes, and a certain ſoothſayer, a friend of his, whom Theopompus calls Satyrus, but Ephorus and Timæus mention by the name of Orthagoras. Theſe three ſtanding round him, earneſtly entreated him yet to liſten to reaſon and change his mind. Timophanes at firſt laughed at them, and afterwards gave way to a violent paſſion; upon which, Timoleon

ſtepped aſide, and ſtood weeping, with his face covered, while the other two drew their ſwords, and deſpatched him in a moment.*

The matter being ſoon generally known, the principal and moſt valuable part of the Corinthians extolled Timoleon's deteſtation of wickedneſs, and that greatneſs of ſoul which, notwithſtanding the gentleneſs of his heart and his affection to his relations, led him to prefer his country to his family, and juſtice and honor to intereſt and advantage. While his brother fought valiantly for his country, he had ſaved him; and ſlain him, when he had treacherouſly enſlaved it. Thoſe who knew not how to live in a democracy, and had been uſed to make their court to men in power, pretended indeed to rejoice at the tyrant's death; but at the ſame time reviling Timoleon, as guilty of an horrible and impious deed, they created him great uneaſineſs. When he heard how heavily his mother bore it, and that ſhe uttered the moſt dreadful wiſhes and imprecations againſt him, he went to excuſe it and to conſole her; but ſhe could not endure the thought of ſeeing him, and ordered the doors to be ſhut againſt him. He then became entirely a prey to ſorrow, and attempted to put an end to his life by abſtaining from all manner of food. In theſe unhappy circumſtances his friends did not abandon him. They even added force to their entreaties till they prevailed on him to live. He determined, however, to live in ſolitude; and accordingly he withdrew from all public affairs, and for ſome years did not ſo much as approach the city, but wandered about the moſt gloomy parts of his grounds, and gave himſelf up to melancholy. Thus the judgment, if it borrows not from reaſon and philoſophy ſufficient ſtrength and ſteadineſs for action, is eaſily unſettled and depraved by any caſual commendation or diſpraiſe, and departs from its own purpoſes.† For an action ſhould not only be juſt and laudable in itſelf,

* Diodorus, in the circumſtances of this fact, differs from Plutarch. He tells us, that Timoleon having killed his brother in the market place with his own hand, a great tumult aroſe among the citizens. To appeaſe this tumult, an aſſembly was convened; and in the height of their debates the Syracuſan ambaſſadors arrived, demanding a general: Whereupon they unanimouſly agreed to ſend Timoleon; but firſt let him know, that if he diſcharged his duty there well, he ſhould be conſidered as one who had killed a tyrant; if not, as the murderer of his brother. *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xvi. c. 10.

† Εκκρουονται [αι κρισεις ſc.] των οικειων λογισμων.

but the principle from which it proceeds, firm and immoveable, in order that our conduct may have the ſanction of our own approbation. Otherwiſe, upon the completion of any undertaking, we ſhall, through our own weakneſs, be filled with ſorrow and remorſe, and the ſplendid ideas of honor and virtue, that led us to perform it, will vaniſh; juſt as the glutton is ſoon cloyed and diſguſted with the luſcious viands which he had devoured with too keen an appetite. Repentance tarniſhes the beſt actions; whereas the purpoſes that are grounded upon knowledge and reaſon never change; though they may happen to be diſappointed of ſucceſs. Hence it was that Phocion of Athens, having vigorouſly oppoſed the proceedings of Leoſthenes,* which notwithſtanding turned out much more happily than he expected; when he ſaw the Athenians offering ſacrifice and elated with their victory, told them, *he was glad of their ſucceſs, but if it was to do over again he ſhould give the ſame counſel.* Still ſtronger was the anſwer which Ariſtides the Locrain, one of Plato's intimate friends, gave to Dionyſius the elder, when he demanded one of his daughters in marriage, *I had rather ſee the virgin in her grave, than in the palace of a tyrant.* And when Dionyſius ſoon after put his ſon to death, and then inſolently aſked him, *what he now thought as to the diſpoſal of his daughter? I am ſorry*, ſaid he, *for what you have done, but I am not ſorry for what I ſaid.* However, it is only a ſuperior and highly accompliſhed virtue that can attain ſuch heights as theſe.

As for Timoleon's extreme dejection in conſequence of the late fact, whether it proceeded from regret of his brother's fate, or the reverence he bore his mother, it ſo ſhattered and impaired his ſpirits, that for almoſt twenty years he was concerned in no important or public affair.

When, therefore, he was pitched upon for general, and accepted as ſuch by the ſuffrages of the people, Teleclides, a man of the greateſt power and reputation in Corinth, exhorted him to behave well, and to exert a generous valor in the execution of his commiſſion: *For*, ſaid he, *if your conduct be good, we ſhall conſider you as the deſtroyer of a tyrant; if bad, as the murderer of your brother.*

While Timoleon was aſſembling his forces, and preparing to ſet ſail, the Corinthians received letters from Icetes, which plainly diſcovered his revolt and treachery. For his

*See the Life of Phocion.

ambaſſadors were no ſooner ſet out for Corinth, than he openly joined the Carthaginians, and acted in concert with them, in order to expel Dionyſius from Syracuſe, and uſurp the tyranny himſelf. Fearing, moreover, leſt he ſhould loſe his opportunity, by the ſpeedy arrival of the army from Corinth, he wrote to the Corinthians to acquaint them "That there was no occaſion for them to put themſelves to trouble and expenſe, or to expoſe themſelves to the dangers of a voyage to Sicily; particularly, as the Carthaginians would oppoſe them, and were watching for their ſhips with a numerous fleet; and that indeed, on account of the ſlowneſs of their motions, he had been forced to engage thoſe very Carthaginians to aſſiſt him againſt the tyrant."

If any of the Corinthians before were cold and indifferent as to the expedition, upon the reading of theſe letters they were one and all ſo incenſed againſt Icetes, that they readily ſupplied Timoleon with whatever he wanted, and united their endeavors to expedite his ſailing.

When the fleet was equipped, and the ſoldiers provided with all that was neceſſary, the prieſteſſes of Proſerpine had a dream, wherein that goddeſs and her mother Ceres appeared to them in a travelling garb, and told them, "That they intended to accompany Timoleon into Sicily." Hereupon the Corinthians equipped a ſacred galley, which they called the *galley of the goddeſſes*. Timoleon himſelf went to Delphi, where he offered ſacrifice to Apollo; and, upon his deſcending into the place where the oracles were delivered, was ſurpriſed with this wonderful occurrence: A wreath, embroidered with crowns and images of victory, ſlipped down from among the offerings that were hung up there, and fell upon Timoleon's head, ſo that Apollo ſeemed to ſend him out crowned, upon that enterpriſe.

He had ſeven ſhips of Corinth, two of Corcyra, and a tenth fitted out by the Leucadians, with which he put to ſea. It was in the night that he ſet ſail, and with a proſperous gale he was making his way, when on a ſudden the heavens ſeemed to be rent aſunder, and to pour upon his ſhip a bright and ſpreading flame, which ſoon formed itſelf into a torch, ſuch as is uſed in the ſacred myſteries, and having conducted them through their whole courſe, brought them to that quarter of Italy for which they deſigned to ſteer. The ſoothſayer declared that this appearance perfectly agreed with the dream of the prieſteſſes, and that by this light from

heaven, the goddeſſes ſhowed themſelves intereſted in the ſucceſs of the expedition. Particularly as Sicily was ſacred to Proſerpine; it being fabled that her rape happened there, and that the iſland was beſtowed on her as a nuptial gift.*

The fleet, thus encouraged with tokens of the divine favor, very ſoon croſſed the ſea, and made the coaſt of Italy. But the news brought thither from Sicily, much perplexed Timoleon, and diſheartened his forces. For Icetes having beaten Dionyſius in a ſet battle,† and taken great part of Syracuſe, had by a line of circumvallation, ſhut up the tyrant in the citadel and that part of the city which is called *the iſland*, and beſieged him there. At the ſame time he ordered the Carthaginians to take care that Timoleon ſhould not land in Sicily; hoping, when the Corinthians were driven off, without farther oppoſition, to ſhare the iſland with his new allies. The Carthaginians, accordingly ſent away twenty of their galleys to Rhegium, in which were ambaſſadors from Icetes to Timoleon, charged with propoſals, quite as captious as his proceedings themſelves; for they were nothing but ſpecious and artful words, invented to give a color to his treacherous deſigns. They were to make an offer, "That Timoleon might, if "he thought proper, go and aſſiſt Icetes with his counſel, "and ſhare in his ſucceſſes; but that he muſt ſend back "his ſhips and troops to Corinth, ſince the war was almoſt "finiſhed, and the Carthaginians were determined to pre"vent their paſſage, and ready to repel force with force."

The Corinthians, then, as ſoon as they arrived at Rhegium, meeting with this embaſſy, and ſeeing the Carthaginians riding at anchor near them, were vexed at the inſult; a general indignation was expreſſed againſt Icetes, and fear for the Sicilians, whom they plainly ſaw left as a prize, to reward Icetes for his treachery, and the Carthaginians for

* The bridegroom made a preſent to the bride, the third day after the wedding, when, according to the modeſty of thoſe ancient times, the bride appeared firſt without a veil; for which reaſon the preſent was called ἀνακαλυπτήρια.

† Icetes finding himſelf in want of proviſions, withdrew from the ſiege of Syracuſe towards his own country; whereupon Dionyſius marched out and attacked his rear. But Icetes facing about, defeated him, killed three thouſand of his men, and purſuing him into the city, got poſſeſſion of part of it. Our author obſerved a little below, that Syracuſe being divided by ſtrong walls, was, as it were, an aſſemblage of cities.

aſſiſting in ſetting him up tyrant. And it ſeemed impoſſible for them to get the better, either of the barbarians who were watching them with double their number o ſhips, or of the forces of Icetes, which they had expected would have joined them, and put themſelves under their command.

Timoleon, on this occaſion, coming to an interview with the ambaſſadors and the Carthaginian commanders, mildly ſaid, "He would ſubmit to their propoſal," for what could he gain by oppoſing them? "but he was deſirous "that they would give them in publicly before the people "of Rhegium, ere he quitted that place, ſince it was a "Grecian city, and common friend to both parties. For "that this tended to his ſecurity, and they themſelves "would ſtand more firmly to their engagements, if they "took that people for witneſſes to them."

This overture he made only to amuſe them, intending all the while to ſteal a paſſage, and the magiſtrates of Rhegium entered heartily into his ſcheme; for they wiſhed to ſee the affairs of Sicily in Corinthian hands, and dreaded the neighborhood of the barbarians. They ſummoned, therefore, an aſſembly, and ſhut the gates, leſt the citizens ſhould go about any other buſineſs. Being convened, they made long ſpeeches, one of them taking up the argument where another laid it down, with no other view than to gain time for the Corinthian galleys to get under ſail; and the Carthaginians were eaſily detained in the aſſembly, as having no ſuſpicion, becauſe Timoleon was preſent, and it was expected every moment that he would ſtand up and make his ſpeech. But upon ſecret notice that the other galleys had put to ſea,* and his alone was left behind, by the help of the Rhegians who preſſed cloſe to the *roſtrum*, and concealed him amongſt them, he ſlipped through the crowd, got down to the ſhore, and hoiſted ſail with all ſpeed.

He ſoon arrived, with all his veſſels, at Tauromenium in Sicily, to which he had been invited ſome time before, and where he was now kindly received, by Andromachus, lord of that city. This Andromachus was father to Timæus the hiſtorian; and being much the beſt of all the Sicilian princes of his time, he both governed his own people agreeably to the laws and principles of juſtice, and

* The Carthaginians believed that the departure of thoſe nine galleys for Corinth had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, and that the tenth was left behind to carry Timoleon to Icetes.

had ever avowed his averſion and enmity to tyrants. On this account he readily allowed Timoleon to make his city a place of arms, and perſuaded his people to cooperate with the Corinthians with all their force, in reſtoring liberty to the whole iſland.

The Carthaginians at Rhegium, upon the breaking up of the aſſembly, ſeeing that Timoleon was gone, were vexed to find themſelves outwitted; and it afforded no ſmall diverſion to the Rhegians, *that* Phœnicians *ſhould complain of any thing effected by guile.** They diſpatched, however, one of their galleys with an ambaſſador to Tauromenium, who repreſented the affair at large to Andromachus, inſiſting with much inſolence and barbaric pride, that he ſhould immediately turn the Corinthians out of his town; and at laſt ſhowing him his hand with the palm upwards, and then turning it down again, told him, if he did not comply with that condition, the Carthaginians *would overturn his city, juſt as he had turned his hand.* Andromachus only ſmiled, and without making him any other anſwer ſtretched out his hand, firſt with one ſide up, and then the other, and bade him *begone directly, if he did not chooſe to have his ſhip turned upſide down in the ſame manner.*

Icetes hearing that Timoleon had made good his paſſage, was much alarmed, and ſent for a great number of the Carthaginian galleys. The Syracuſans then began to deſpair of a deliverance; for they ſaw the Carthaginians maſters of their harbor,† Icetes poſſeſſed of the city, and the citadel in the hands of Dionyſius; while Timoleon held only by a ſmall border of the ſkirts of Sicily, the little town of Tauromenium, with a feeble hope and an inconſiderable force, having no more than a thouſand men, and proviſions barely ſufficient for them. Nor had the Sicilian ſtates any confidence in him, plunged as they were in misfortunes, and exaſperated againſt all that pretended to lead armies to their ſuccor, particularly on account of the perfidy of Callippus and Pharax. The one was an Athenian, and the other a Lacedæmonian, and both came with profeſſions to do great things for the liberty of Sicily, and for demoliſhing the tyrants; yet the Sicilians ſoon found that the reign of former oppreſſors was comparatively a golden age, and reckoned

* *Fraus punica*, Phœnician *fraud*, had paſſed into a proverb.

† The Carthaginians had a hundred and fifty men of war, fifty thouſand foot, and three hundred chariots.

thoſe far more happy who died in ſervitude than ſuch as lived to ſee ſo diſmal a kind of freedom. Expecting, therefore, that this Corinthian deliverer would be no better than thoſe before him, and that the deceitful hand of art would reach out to them the ſame bait of good hopes and fair promiſes, to draw them into ſubjection to a new maſter, they all, except the people of Adranum, ſuſpected the deſigns of the Corinthians, and declined their propoſals. Adranum was a ſmall city, conſecrated to the god *Adranus*,* who was held in high veneration throughout all Sicily. Its inhabitants were at variance with each other; ſome calling in Icetes and the Carthaginians, and others applying to Timoleon. Both generals, ſtriving which ſhould get there firſt, as fortune would have it, arrived about the ſame time. But Icetes had five thouſand men with him, and Timoleon twelve hundred at the moſt, whom he drew out of Tauromenium, which was forty two miles and a half from Adranum. The firſt day he made but a ſhort march, and pitched his tents in good time. The next day he marched forward at a great pace, though the road was very rugged, and towards evening was informed that Icetes had juſt reached the town, and was encamping before it. At the ſame time his officers made the foremoſt diviſion halt, to take ſome refreſhment, that they might be the more vigorous in the enſuing engagement. This, however, was againſt the opinion of Timoleon, who entreated them to march forward as faſt as poſſible, and to attack the enemy before they were put in order; it being probable, now they were juſt come off their march, that they were employed in pitching their tents and preparing their ſupper. He had no ſooner given this order, than he took his buckler and put himſelf at the head of them, as leading them on to undoubted victory.

His men, thus encouraged, followed him very cheerfully, being now not quite thirty furlongs from Adranum. As ſoon as they came up, they fell upon the enemy, who were in great confuſion, and ready to fly at their firſt approach. For this reaſon not many more than three hundred were killed, but twice as many were made priſoners, and the camp was taken.

Upon this the people of Adranum opened their gates to Timoleon, and joined his party, declaring with terror and

* This deity, by his *inſignia* afterwards mentioned, ſhould ſeem to be Mars. His temple was guarded by a hundred dogs.

aſtoniſhment, that during the battle, the ſacred doors of the temple opened of their own accord, the ſpear of their god was ſeen to ſhake to the very point, and his face dropt with ſweat. Theſe things did not foreſhow that victory only, but the future ſucceſſes, to which this diſpute was a fortunate prelude. For ſeveral cities, by their ambaſſadors immediately joined in alliance with Timoleon; and Mamercus, ſovereign of Catana, a warlike and wealthy prince, entered into the confederacy. But what was ſtill more material, Dionyſius himſelf, having bid adieu to hope, and unable to hold out much longer, deſpiſing Icetes, who was ſo ſhamefully beaten, and admiring the bravery of Timoleon, offered to deliver up to him and the Corinthians both himſelf and the citadel.

Timoleon accepted of this good fortune ſo ſuperior to his hopes, and ſent Euclides and Telemachus, two Corinthian officers into the citadel, as he did four hundred men beſides, not altogether, nor openly, for that was impoſſible, becauſe the enemy were upon their guard, but by ſtealth, and a few at a time. This corps, then, took poſſeſſion of the citadel and the tyrant's moveables, with all that he had provided for carrying on the war, namely, a good number of horſes, all manner of engines, and a vaſt quantity of darts. They found alſo arms for ſeventy thouſand men which had been laid up of old, and two thouſand ſoldiers with Dionyſius, whom he delivered up along with the ſtores to Timoleon. But the tyrant reſerved his money to himſelf, and having got on board a ſhip, he ſailed with a few of his friends, without being perceived by Icetes, and reached the camp of Timoleon.

Then it was that he firſt appeared in the humble figure of a private man,* and, as ſuch, he was ſent with one ſhip and a very moderate ſum of money, to Corinth; he that was born in a ſplendid court, and educated as heir to the moſt abſolute monarchy that ever exiſted. He held it for ten years;† and for twelve more, from the time that

* Dionyſius was born to abſolute power, whereas moſt other tyrants, Dionyſius the elder, for inſtance, had raiſed themſelves to it, and ſome from a mean condition.

† For he began his reign in the firſt year of the hundred and third Olympiad, three hundred and ſixtyſix years before the Chriſtian era. Dion took arms againſt him in the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad; and he delivered up the citadel to Timoleon, and was ſent to Corinth, in the firſt year of the hundred and ninth

Dion took up arms againſt him, he was exerciſed continually in wars and troubles; inſomuch that the miſchiefs cauſed by his tyranny, were abundantly recompenſed upon his own head in what he ſuffered. He ſaw his ſons die in their youth, his daughters deflowered, and his ſiſter, who was alſo his wife, expoſed to the brutal luſts of his enemies, and then ſlaughtered with her children, and thrown into the ſea; as we have related more particularly in the life of Dion.

When Dionyſius arrived at Corinth, there was hardly a man in Greece, who was not deſirous to ſee him and diſcourſe with him. Some hating the man, and rejoicing at his misfortunes, came for the pleaſure of inſulting him in his preſent diſtreſs; others, whoſe ſentiments, with reſpect to him, were ſomewhat changed, and who were touched with compaſſion for his fate, plainly ſaw the influence of an inviſible and divine power, diſplayed in the affairs of feeble mortals. For neither nature nor art produced in thoſe times any thing ſo remarkable as that work of fortune,* which ſhowed the man who was lately ſovereign of Sicily, now holding converſation in a butcher's ſhop at Corinth, or ſitting whole days in a perfumer's; or drinking the diluted wine of taverns; or ſquabbling in the ſtreets with lewd women; or directing female muſicians in their ſinging, and diſputing with them ſeriouſly about the harmony of certain airs that were ſung in the theatre.†

Some were of opinion, that he fell into theſe unworthy amuſements, as being naturally idle, effeminate, and diſſolute; but others thought it was a ſtroke of policy, and that he rendered himſelf deſpicable to prevent his being feared by the Corinthians; contrary to his nature, affecting that meanneſs and ſtupidity, leſt they ſhould imagine the change of his circumſtances ſat heavy upon him, and that he aimed at eſtabliſhing himſelf again.

Nevertheleſs, ſome ſayings of his are recorded, by which it ſhould ſeem that he did not bear his preſent misfortunes in an abject manner. When he arrived at Leucus, which was a Corinthian colony as well as Syracuſe, he ſaid, "He "found himſelf in a ſituation like that of young men who

* Plutarch adds *nor art*, to give us to underſtand that the tragic poets had not repreſented ſo ſignal a cataſtrophe, even in fable.

† Some writers tell us, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a ſchool at Corinth, where he exerciſed that tyranny over children which he could no longer practice *over men*. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. iii.

'had been guilty of ſome miſdemeanor. For as they con-
'verſe cheerfully, notwithſtanding, with their brothers,
'but are abaſhed at the thought of coming before their
'fathers, ſo he was aſhamed of going to live in the moth-
'er city, and could paſs his days much more to his ſat-
'isfaction with them." Another time, when a certain ſtranger derided him, at Corinth, in a very rude and ſcorn-ful manner, for having, in the meridian of his power, tak-n pleaſure in the diſcourſe of philoſophers, and at laſt aſked him, "What he had got by the wiſdom of Plato?" 'Do you think," ſaid he, "that we have reaped no ad-'vantage from Plato, when we bear in this manner ſuch 'a change of fortune?" Ariſtoxenus the muſician, and ome others, having inquired "What was the ground of 'his diſpleaſure againſt Plato?" He anſwered, "That 'abſolute power abounded with evils; but had this great 'infelicity above all the reſt, that among the number of 'thoſe who call themſelves the friends of an arbitrary 'prince there is not one who will ſpeak his mind to him 'freely; and that by ſuch falſe friends he had been de-'prived of the friendſhip of Plato."

Some one who had a mind to be arch, and to make nerry with Dionyſius, ſhook his robe when he entered his partment, as is uſual when perſons approach a tyrant; nd he, returning the jeſt very well, bade him, "Do 'the ſame when he went out, that he might not carry 'off ſome of the moveables."

One day, over their cups, Philip of Macedon, with a ind of ſneer, introduced ſome diſcourſe about the odes*

* Dionyſius, the elder, valued himſelf upon his poetry, but has been enſured as the worſt poet in the world. Philoxenus, who was himſelf n excellent poet, attempted to undeceive him in the favorable opin-on he had of his own abilities, but was ſent to the Quarries for the iberty he took. However, the next day, he was reſtored to favor, nd Dionyſius repeated to him ſome verſes he had taken extraordinary ains with, expecting his approbation. But the poet, inſtead of giving t, looked round to the guards, and ſaid to them, very humorouſly, 'Take me back to the Quarries." Notwithſtanding this, Dionyſius liſputed the prize of poetry at the Olympic games; but there he was iſſed, and the rich pavilion he had ſent, torn in pieces. He had bet-er ſucceſs, however, at Athens; for he gained the prize of poetry at he celebrated feaſt of Bacchus. On this occaſion he was in ſuch rap-ures that he drank to exceſs; and the debauch threw him into violent ains; to allay which, he aſked for a ſoporative, and his phyſicans gave him one that laid him aſleep, out of which he never awaked.

and tragedies which Dionyſius, the elder, left behind him, and pretended to doubt how he could find leiſure for ſuch works. Dionyſius anſwered ſmartly enough, "They were "written in the time which you and I, and other happy "fellows ſpend over the bowl."

Plato did not ſee Dionyſius in Corinth, for he had now been dead ſome time. But Diogenes of Sinope, when he firſt met him, addreſſed him as follows: "How little doſt "thou deſerve to live!" Thus Dionyſius anſwered: "It "is kind in you to ſympathize with me in my misfortunes." "Doſt thou think then," ſaid Diogenes, "that I have any "pity for thee, and that I am not rather vexed that ſuch a "ſlave as thou art, and ſo fit to grow old and die, like thy "father, on a tyrant's uneaſy throne, ſhould, inſtead of "that, live with us here in mirth and pleaſure?" So that when I compare, with theſe words of the philoſopher, the doleful expreſſions of Philiſtus, in which he bewails the fate of the daughters of Leptines,* "That from the great "and ſplendid enjoyments of abſolute power, they were "reduced to a private and humble ſtation," they appear to one the lamentations of a woman, who regrets her perfumes, her purple robes, and golden trinkets. This account of the ſayings of Dionyſius, ſeems to me neither foreign from biography, nor without its utility to ſuch readers as are not in a hurry, or taken up with other concerns.

If the ill fortune of Dionyſius appeared ſurpriſing, the ſucceſs of Timoleon was no leſs wonderful. For within fifty days after his landing in Sicily, he was maſter of the citadel of Syracuſe, and ſent off Dionyſius into Peloponneſus. The Corinthians, encouraged with theſe advantages, ſent him a reinforcement of two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe. Theſe got on their way as far as Thurium; but finding it impracticable to gain a paſſage from thence, becauſe the ſea was beſet with a numerous fleet of Carthaginians, they were forced to ſtop there and watch their opportunity. However, they employed their time in a very noble undertaking. For the Thurians, marching out of their city to war againſt the Brutians, left it in charge with theſe Corinthian ſtrangers, who defended it with as much honor and integrity, as if it had been their own.

* Leptines, as mentioned below, was tyrant of Apollonia.

Mean time, Icetes carried on the ſiege of the citadel with great vigor and blocked it up ſo cloſe, that no proviſions could be got in for the Corinthian garriſon. He provided alſo two ſtrangers to aſſaſſinate Timoleon, and ſent them privately to Adranum. That general, who never kept any regular guards about him, lived then with the Adranites without any ſort of precaution or ſuſpicion, by reaſon of his confidence in their tutelary god. The aſſaſſins being informed that he was going to offer ſacrifice, went into the temple with their poniards under their clothes, and mixing with thoſe that ſtood round the altar, got nearer to him by little and little. They were juſt going to give each other the ſignal to begin, when ſomebody ſtruck one of them on the head with his ſword, and laid him at his feet. Neither he that ſtruck the blow kept his ſtation, nor the companion of the dead man; the former, with his ſword in his hand, fled to the top of a high rock, and the latter laid hold on the altar, entreating Timoleon to ſpare his life, on condition that he diſcovered the whole matter. Accordingly, pardon was promiſed him, and he confeſſed that he and the perſon who lay dead, were ſent on purpoſe to kill him.

Whilſt he was making this confeſſion, the other man was brought down from the rock, and loudly proteſted, that he was guilty of no injuſtice, for he only took righteous vengeance on the wretch who had murdered his father in the city of Leontium.* And for the truth of this, he appealed to ſeveral that were there preſent, who all atteſted the ſame, and could not but admire the wonderful management of fortune, which, moving one thing by another, bringing together the moſt diſtant incidents, and combining thoſe that have no manner of relation, but rather the greateſt diſſimilarity, makes ſuch uſe of them, that the cloſe of one proceſs is always the beginning of another. The Corinthians rewarded the man with a preſent of ten *minæ*, becauſe his hand had cooperated with the guardian genius of Timoleon, and he had reſerved the ſatisfaction for his private wrongs to the time when fortune availed herſelf of it to ſave the general. This happy eſcape had effects beyond the preſent, for it inſpired the Corinthians with high expecta-

* Hiſtory can hardly afford a ſtronger inſtance of an interfering Providence.

tions of Timoleon, when they ſaw the Sicilians now reverence and guard him, as a man whoſe perſon was ſacred, and who was come as miniſter of the gods, to avenge and deliver them.

When Icetes had failed in this attempt, and ſaw many of the Sicilians going over to Timoleon, he blamed himſelf for making uſe of the Carthaginians in ſmall numbers only, and availing himſelf of their aſſiſtance as it were by ſtealth, and as if he were aſhamed of it, when they had ſuch immenſe forces at hand. He ſent, therefore, for Mago their commander in chief, and his whole fleet; who, with terrible pomp, took poſſeſſion of the harbor with a hundred and fifty ſhips, and landed an army of ſixty thouſand men, which encamped in the city of Syracuſe; inſomuch that every one imagined the inundation of barbarians, which had been announced and expected of old, was now come upon Sicily. For in the many wars which they had waged in that iſland, the Carthaginians had never before been able to take Syracuſe; but Icetes then receiving them, and delivering up the city to them, the whole became a camp of barbarians.

The Corinthians, who ſtill held the citadel, found themſelves in very dangerous and difficult circumſtances; for beſides that they were in want of proviſions, becauſe the port was guarded and blocked up, they were employed in ſharp and continual diſputes about the walls, which were attacked with all manner of machines and batteries, and for the defence of which they were obliged to divide themſelves. Timoleon, however, found means to relieve them, by ſending a ſupply of corn from Catana in ſmall fiſhing boats and little ſkiffs, which watched the opportunity to make their way through the enemy's fleet, when it happened to be ſeparated by a ſtorm. Mago and Icetes no ſooner ſaw this, than they reſolved to make themſelves maſters of Catana, from which proviſions were ſent to the beſieged; and taking with them the beſt of their troops, they ſailed from Syracuſe. Leo, the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having obſerved from the top of it, that thoſe of the enemy who ſtayed behind, abated their vigilance, and kept but an indifferent guard, ſuddenly fell upon them as they were diſperſed; and killing ſome, and putting the reſt to flight, gained the quarter called *Achradina*, which was much the ſtrongeſt, and had ſuffered the leaſt from the enemy; for

Syracuſe is an aſſemblage, as it were, of towns.* Finding plenty of proviſions and money there, he did not give up the acquiſition, nor return into the citadel, but ſtood upon his defence in the *Achradina*, having fortified it quite round, and joined it by new works to the citadel. Mago and Icetes were now near Catana, when a horſeman, diſpatched from Syracuſe, brought them tidings that the *Achradina* was taken; which ſtruck them with ſuch ſurpriſe, that they returned in great hurry, having neither taken the place which they went againſt, nor kept that which they had before.

Perhaps prudence and valor have as much right as fortune to lay claim to theſe ſucceſſes; but the event that next enſued, is wholly to be aſcribed to the favor of fortune. The corps of Corinthians that were at Thurium, dreading the Carthaginian fleet, which, under the command of Hanno, obſerved their motions, and finding, at the ſame time, that the ſea for many days was ſtormy and tempeſtuous, determined to march through the country of the Brutians; and partly by perſuaſion, partly by force, they made good their paſſage through the territories of the barbarians, and came down to Rhegium, the ſea ſtill continuing rough, as before.

The Carthaginian admiral, not expecting the Corinthians would venture out, though it was in vain to ſit ſtill; and having perſuaded himſelf that he had invented one of the fineſt ſtratagems in the world, ordered the mariners to crown themſelves with garlands, and to dreſs up the galleys with Grecian and Phœnician bucklers,† and thus equipped, he ſailed to Syracuſe. When he came near the citadel, he hailed it with loud huzzas and expreſſions of triumph, declaring that he was juſt come from beating the Corinthian

* There were four; the *Iſle*, or the citadel, which was between the two ports; *Achradina*, at a little diſtance from the citadel; *Tyche*, ſo called from the temple of Fortune; and *Neapolis*, or the new city. To theſe ſome eminent authors (and Plutarch is of the number) add a fifth, which they call *Epipolæ*.

† As it ſeems abſurd to make mention here of Phœnician bucklers, ſince they could be no token that the Greeks were beaten; M. Dacier conjectures that the word φοινικισιν ſhould not be taken for a Patronymic, nor written with a capital, but with a ſimple φ, and then it may ſignify *gliſtering with purple*: So Plutarch, a little below, takes notice of ασπιδας οχρισιογραφεις.

But it muſt be acknowledged that the και before the φοινικισιν ſtands in the way of that correction.

ſuccors, whom he had met with at ſea, as they were endeavoring at a paſſage. By this means he hoped to ſtrike terror into the beſieged. While he was acting this part, the Corinthians got down to Rhegium, and as the coaſt was clear, and the wind falling as it were miraculouſly, promiſed ſmooth water and a ſafe voyage, they immediately went aboard ſuch barks and fiſhing boats as they could find, and paſſed over into Sicily with ſo much ſafety, and in ſuch a dead calm, that they even drew the horſes by the reins, ſwimming by the ſide of the veſſels.

When they were all landed, and had joined Timoleon, he ſoon took Meſſana;* and from thence he marched in good order to Syracuſe, depending more upon his good fortune than his forces, for he had not above four thouſand men with him. On the firſt news of his approach, Mago was greatly perplexed and alarmed, and his ſuſpicions were increaſed on the following occaſions: The marſhes about Syracuſe,† which receive a great deal of freſh water from the ſprings, and from the lakes and rivers that diſcharge themſelves there into the ſea, have ſuch abundance of eels, that there is always plenty for thoſe that chooſe to fiſh for them. The common ſoldiers of both ſides amuſed themſelves promiſcuouſly with that ſport, at their vacant hours, and upon any ceſſation of arms. As they were all Greeks, and had no pretence for any private animoſity againſt each other, they fought boldly when they met in battle, and in time of truce they mixed together, and converſed familiarly. Buſied at one of theſe times in their common diverſion of fiſhing, they fell into diſcourſe, and expreſſed their admiration of the convenience of the ſea and the ſituation of the adjacent places. Whereupon, one of the Corinthian ſoldiers thus addreſſed thoſe that ſerved under Icetes: "And can you, who are Greeks, readily conſent to "reduce this city, ſo ſpacious in itſelf and bleſt with ſo many "advantages, into the power of the barbarians, and to bring "the Carthaginians, the moſt deceitful and bloody of them "all, into our neighborhood; when you ought to wiſh that "between them and Greece their were many Sicilies? Or "can you think that they have brought an armed force "from the pillars of Hercules and the Atlantic Ocean, and

* *Meſſana* in the ancient Sicilian pronunciation; now *Meſſina*.

† There is one morafs that is called *Lyſimelia*, and another called *Syraco*. From this laſt the city took its name. Theſe moraſſes make the air of Syracuſe very unwholeſome.

" braved the hazards of war, purely to erect a principality " for Icetes; who, if he had had the prudence which be- " comes a general, would never have driven out his " founders, to call into his country the worſt of its ene- " mies, when he might have obtained of the Corinthians " and Timoleon any proper degree of honor and power."

The ſoldiers that were in pay with Icetes, repeating their diſcourſes often in their camp, gave Mago, who had long wanted a pretence to be gone, room to ſuſpect that he was betrayed. And though Icetes entreated him to ſtay, and remonſtrated upon their great ſuperiority to the enemy, yet he weighed anchor, and ſailed back to Africa, ſhamefully and unaccountably ſuffering Sicily to ſlip out of his hands.

Next day, Timoleon drew up his army in order of battle before the place; but when he and his Corinthians were told that Mago was fled, and ſaw the harbor empty, they could not forbear laughing at his cowardice; and by way of mockery, they cauſed proclamation to be made about the city, promiſing a reward to any one that could give information where the Carthaginian fleet was gone to hide itſelf. Icetes, however, had ſtill the ſpirit to ſtand a farther ſhock, and would not let go his hold, but vigorouſly defended thoſe quarters of the city which he occupied, and which appeared almoſt impregnable. Timoleon therefore divided his forces into three parts; and himſelf with one of them made his attack by the river Anapus, where he was likely to meet with the warmeſt reception; commanding the ſecond, which was under Iſias the Corinthian, to begin their operations from the *Achradina*, while Dinarchus and Demaretus, who brought the laſt reinforcement from Corinth, ſhould attempt the *Epipolæ*: So that ſeveral impreſſions being made at the ſame time, and on every ſide the ſoldiers of Icetes were overpowered, and put to flight. Now, that the city was taken by aſſault, and ſuddenly reduced, upon the flight of the enemy, we may juſtly impute to the bravery of the troops, and the ability of their general; but that not one Corinthian was either killed or wounded, the fortune of Timoleon claims entirely to herſelf, willing, as ſhe ſeems, to maintain a diſpute with his valor, and that thoſe who read his ſtory, may rather admire his happy ſucceſs, than the merit of his actions. The fame of this great achievement ſoon overſpread not only Sicily and Italy, but in a few days it reſounded through Greece; ſo that the city of Corinth, which was in ſome doubt whether

its fleet was arrived in Sicily, was informed by the ſame meſſengers, that its forces had made good their paſſage, and were victorious. So well did their affairs proſper, and ſo much luſtre did fortune add to the gallantry of their exploits, by the ſpeedineſs of their execution.

Timoleon, thus maſter of the citadel, did not proceed like Dion, or ſpare the place for its beauty and magnificence; but guarding againſt the ſuſpicions, which firſt ſlandered, and then deſtroyed that great man, he ordered the public crier to give notice, "That all the Syracuſans "who were willing to have a hand in the work, ſhould "come with proper inſtruments to deſtroy the bulwarks of "tyranny." Hereupon they came one and all, conſidering that proclamation and that day as the fureſt commencment of their liberty; and they not only demoliſhed the citadel, but levelled with the ground both the palaces and the monuments of the tyrants. Having ſoon cleared the place, he built a common hall there for the ſeat of judicature, at once to gratify the citizens, and to ſhow that a popular government ſhould be erected on the ruins of tyranny.

The city thus taken was found comparatively deſtitue of inhabitants. Many had been ſlain in the wars and inteſtine broils, and many more had fled from the rage of the tyrants. Nay, ſo little frequented was the market place of Syracuſe, that it produced graſs enough for the horſes to paſture upon, and for the grooms to repoſe themſelves by them. The other cities, except a very few, were entire deſerts full of deer and wild boars, and ſuch as had leiſure for it, often hunted them in the ſuburbs and about the walls; while none of thoſe that had poſſeſſed themſelves of caſtles and ſtrong holds, could be perſuaded to quit them, or come down into the city, for they looked with hatred and horror upon the tribunals and other ſeats of government, as ſo many nurſeries of tyrants. Timoleon and the Syracuſans, therefore, thought proper to write to the Corinthians, to ſend them a good number from Greece, to people Syracuſe, becauſe the land muſt otherwiſe lie uncultivated, and becauſe they expected a more formidable war from Africa, being informed that Mago had killed himſelf, and that the Carthaginians, provoked at his bad conduct in the expedition, had crucified his body, and were collecting great forces for the invaſion of Sicily the enſuing ſummer.

Theſe letters of Timoleon's being delivered, the Syracuſan ambaſſadors attended at the ſame time, and begged of the

Corinthians to take their city into their protection, and to become founders of it anew. They did not, however, haſtily ſeize that advantage, or appropriate the city to themſelves, but firſt ſent to the ſacred games, and the other great aſſemblies of Greece, and cauſed proclamation to be made by their heralds: "That the Corinthians having aboliſhed "arbitrary power in Syracuſe, and expelled the tyrant, in-"vited all Syracuſans and other Sicilians to people that "city, where they ſhould enjoy their liberties and privi-"leges, and have the lands divided by equal lots among "them." Then they ſent envoys into Aſia and the iſlands, where they were told the greateſt part of the fugitives were diſperſed, to exhort them all to come to Corinth, where they ſhould be provided with veſſels, commanders, and a convoy at the expence of the Corinthians, to conduct them ſafe to Syracuſe. Their intentions thus publiſhed, the Corinthians enjoyed the juſteſt praiſe, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed glory, having delivered a Grecian city from tyrants, ſaved it from the barbarians, and reſtored the citizens to their country. But the perſons who met on this occaſion at Corinth, not being a ſufficient number, deſired that they might take others along with them from Corinth, and the reſt of Greece, as new coloniſts; by which means, having made up their number full ten thouſand, they ſailed to Syracuſe. By this time great multitudes from Italy and Sicily had flocked into Timoleon; who finding their number, as Athanis reports, amount to ſixty thouſand, freely divided the lands among them, but ſold the houſes for a thouſand talents. By this contrivance he both left it in the power of the ancient inhabitants to redeem their own, and took occaſion alſo to raiſe a ſtock for the community, who had been ſo poor in all reſpects, and ſo little able to furniſh the ſupplies for the war, that they had ſold the very ſtatues, after having formed a judicial proceſs againſt each, and paſſed ſentence upon them, as if they had been ſo many criminals. On this occaſion we are told, they ſpared one ſtatue, when all the reſt were condemned, namely, that of Gelon, one of their ancient kings, in honor of the man, and for the ſake of the victory * which he gained over the Carthaginians at Himera.

* He defeated Hamilcar, who landed in Sicily, with three hundred thouſand men, in the ſecond year of the ſeventyfifth Olympiad.

Syracuſe being thus revived, and repleniſhed with ſuch a number of inhabitants who flocked to it from all quarters, Timoleon was deſirous to beſtow the bleſſing of liberty on the other cities alſo, and once for all to extripate arbitrary government out of Sicily. For this purpoſe, marching into the territories of the petty tyrants, he compelled Icetes to quit the intereſts of Carthage, to agree to demoliſh his caſtles, and to live among the Leontines as a private perſon. Leptines alſo, prince of Apollonia and ſeveral other little towns, finding himſelf in danger of being taken, ſurrendered, and had his life granted him, but was ſent to Corinth: For Timoleon looked upon it as a glorious thing, that the tyrants of Sicily ſhould be forced to live as exiles in the city which had colonized that iſland,* and ſhould be ſeen, by the Greeks, in ſuch an abject condition.

After this, he returned to Syracuſe to ſettle the civil government, and to eſtabliſh the moſt important and neceſſary laws,† along with Cephalus and Dinarchus, lawgivers ſent from Corinth. In the meanwile, willing that the mercenaries ſhould reap ſome advantage from the enemy's country, and be kept from inaction, be ſent Dinarchus and Demaretus into the Carthaginian province. Theſe drew ſeveral cities from the Punic intereſt, and not only lived in abundance themſelves, but alſo raiſed money, from the plunder, for carrying on the war. While theſe matters were tranſacting, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, with ſeventy thouſand land forces, two hundred galleys, and a thouſand other veſſels, which carried machines of war, chariots, vaſt quantities of proviſions, and all other ſtores; as if they were now determined not to carry on the war by piecemeal, but to drive the Greeks entirely out of Sicily. For their force was ſufficient to effect this, even if the Sicilians had been united, and much more ſo, haraſſed as they were with mutual animoſities. When the Carthaginians therefore found that their Sicilian territories were laid

* εν τη μητροτολει.—

† Among other wiſe inſtitutions, he appointed a chief magiſtrate to be choſen yearly, whom the Syracuſans called the *Amphipolus* of Jupiter Olympius; thus giving him a kind of ſacred character. The firſt *Amphipolus* was Commenes. Hence aroſe the cuſtom among the Syracuſans to compute their years by the reſpective governments of theſe magiſtrates; which cuſtom continued in the time of Diodorus Siculus, that is, in the reign of Auguſtus, above three hundred years after the office of *Amphipolus* was firſt introduced. *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xvi. c. 12.

waſte, they marched, under the command of Aſdrubal and Hamilcar, in great fury againſt the Corinthians.

Information of this being brought directly to Syracuſe, the inhabitants were ſtruck with ſuch terror by that prodigious armament, that ſcarce three thouſand, out of ten times that number, took up arms and ventured to follow Timoleon. The mercenaries were in number four thouſand, and of them about a thouſand gave way to their fears, when upon their march, and turned back, crying out, "That Timoleon muſt be mad or in his dotage, to "go againſt an army of ſeventy thouſand men, with only "five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, and to draw "his handful of men, too, eight days march from Syra-"cuſe; by which means there could be no refuge for "thoſe that fled, nor burial for thoſe that fell in battle."

Timoleon conſidered it as an advantage, that theſe cowards diſcovered themſelves before the engagement; and having encouraged the reſt, he led them haſtily to the banks of the Crimeſus, where he was told the Carthaginians were drawn together. But as he was aſcending an hill, at the top of which the enemy's camp and all their vaſt forces would be in ſight, he met ſome mules loaded with parſley; and his men took it into their heads, that it was a bad omen, becauſe we uſually crown the ſepulchres with parſley, and thence the proverb with reſpect to one that is dangerouſly ill, *Such a one has need of nothing but parſley.* To deliver them from this ſuperſtition, and to remove the panic, Timoleon ordered the troops to halt, and making a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion, obſerved, among other things, "That crowns were brought "them before the victory, and offered themſelves of their "own accord." For the Corinthians from all antiquity having looked upon a wreath of parſley as ſacred, crowned the victors with it at the Iſthmean games: In Timoleon's time it was ſtill in uſe at thoſe games, as it is now at the Neméan, and it is but lately that the pine branch has taken its place. The general having addreſſed his army as we have ſaid, took a chaplet of parſley, and crowned himſelf with it firſt, and then his officers and the common ſoldiers did the ſame. At that inſtant the ſoothſayers obſerving two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a ſerpent which he had pierced through with his talons, while the other advanced with a loud and

animating noiſe, pointed them out to the army, who all betook themſelves to prayer and invocation of the gods.

The ſummer was now begun, and the end of the month *Thargelion** brought on the ſolſtice; the river then ſending up a thick miſt, the field was covered with it at firſt, ſo that nothing in the enemy's camp was diſcernible, only an inarticulate and confuſed noiſe which reached the ſummit of the hill, ſhowed that a great army lay at ſome diſtance. But when the Corinthians had reached the top, and laid down their ſhields to take breath, the ſun had raiſed the vapors higher, ſo that the fog being collected upon the ſummits, covered *them* only, while the places below were all viſible. The river Crimeſus appeared clearly, and the enemy were ſeen croſſing it, firſt with chariots drawn by four horſes, and formidably provided for the combat; behind which there marched ten thouſand men with white bucklers. Theſe they conjectured to be Carthaginians, by the brightneſs of their armor, and the ſlowneſs and good order in which they moved. They were followed by the troops of other nations, who advanced in a confuſed and tumultuous manner.

Timoleon obſerving that the river put it in his power to engage with what number of the enemy he pleaſed, bade his men take notice how the main body was divided by the ſtream, part having already got over and part preparing to paſs it; and ordered Demaretus with the cavalry to attack the Carthaginians and put them in confuſion, before they had time to range themſelves in order of battle. Then he himſelf deſcending into the plain with the infantry, formed the wings out of other Sicilians, intermingling a few ſtrangers with them; but the natives of Syracuſe and the moſt warlike of the mercenaries he placed about himſelf in the centre, and ſtopped a while to ſee the ſucceſs of the horſe. When he ſaw that they could not come up to grapple with the Carthaginians, by reaſon of the chariots that ran to and fro before their army, and that they were obliged often to wheel about, to avoid the danger of hav-

* Here we ſee the uncertainty of the Grecian months. The writers on that ſubject, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, for inſtance (Rom. Antiqu. lib. i.) take *Thargelion* to be *April*. And yet here we are told, the end of that month was near the ſolſtice——Το μεν ουν στρος ἱσαμενω θερους ειχεν ὡραν, και ληγοντι μηνι Θαργηλιωνι, προς ταις τροπαις ηδη συνηπτεν του θερους. Hence it is, that Dacier ventures, in this place, to tranſlate it *June*, the ſolſtice certainly being in that month.

ing their ranks broken, and then to rally again and return to the charge, ſometimes here ſometimes there, he took his buckler, and called to the foot to follow him, and be of good courage, with an accent that ſeemed more than human, ſo much was it above his uſual pitch; whether it was exalted by his ardor and enthuſiaſm, or whether (as many were of opinion) the voice of ſome god was joined to his. His troops anſwering him with a loud ſhout, and preſſing him to lead them on without delay, he ſent orders to the cavalry to get beyond the line of chariots, and to take the enemy in flank, while himſelf thickening his firſt ranks, ſo as to join buckler to buckler, and cauſing the trumpet to ſound, bore down upon the Carthaginians. They ſuſtained the firſt ſhock with great ſpirit; for being fortified with breaſtplates of iron and helmets of braſs, and covering themſelves with large ſhields, they could eaſily repel the ſpears and javelins. But when the buſineſs came to a deciſion by the ſword, where art is no leſs requiſite than ſtrength, all on a ſudden there broke out dreadful thunders from the mountains, mingled with long trails of lightning; after which the black clouds, deſcending from the tops of the hills, fell upon the two armies in a ſtorm of wind, rain, and hail. The tempeſt was on the backs of the Greeks, but beat upon the faces of the barbarians, and almoſt blinded them with the ſtormy ſhowers and the fire continually ſtreaming from the clouds.

Theſe things very much diſtreſſed the barbarians, particularly ſuch of them as were not veterans. The greateſt inconvenience ſeems to have been the roaring of the thunder, and the clattering of the rain and hail upon their arms, which hindered them from hearing the orders of their officers. Beſides, the Carthaginians not being light, but heavy armed, as I ſaid, the dirt was troubleſome to them; and, as the boſoms of their tunics were filled with water, they were very unwieldly in the combat, ſo that the Greeks could overturn them with eaſe; and when they were down, it was impoſſible for them, encumbered as they were with arms, to get up out of the mire. For the river Crimeſus ſwoln partly with the rains, and partly having its courſe ſtopped by the vaſt numbers that croſſed it, had overflowed its banks. The adjacent field, having many cavities and low places in it was filled with water which ſettled there, and the Carthaginians falling into them, could not diſengage themſelves without extreme difficulty. In ſhort, the

ſtorm continuing to beat upon them with great violence, and the Greeks having cut to pieces four hundred men who compoſed their firſt ranks, their whole body was put to flight. Great numbers were overtaken in the field, and put to the ſword; many took to the river, and, joſtling with thoſe that were yet paſſing it, were carried down and drowned. The major part, who endeavored to gain the hills, were ſtopped by the light armed ſoldiers, and ſlain. Among the ten thouſand that were killed, it is ſaid there were three thouſand natives of Carthage; a heavy loſs to that city; for none of its citizens were ſuperior to theſe, either in birth, fortune, or character, nor have we any account that ſo many Carthaginians ever fell before in one battle; but as they moſtly made uſe of Lybians, Spaniards, and Numidians in their wars, if they loſt a victory, it was at the expenſe of the blood of ſtrangers.

The Greeks diſcovered by the ſpoils the quality of the killed. Thoſe that ſtripped the dead, ſet no value upon braſs or iron, ſuch was the abundance of ſilver and gold; for they paſſed the river and made themſelves maſters of the camp and baggage. Many of the priſoners were clandeſtinely ſold by the ſoldiers, but five thouſand were delivered in upon the public account, and two hundred chariots alſo were taken. The tent of Timoleon afforded the moſt beautiful and magnificent ſpectacle. In it were piled all manner of ſpoils, among which a thouſand breaſtplates of exquiſite workmanſhip, and ten thouſand bucklers, were expoſed to view. As there was but a ſmall number to collect the ſpoils of ſuch a multitude, and they found ſuch immenſe riches, it was the third day after the battle before they could erect the trophy. With the firſt news of the victory, Timoleon ſent to Corinth the handſomeſt of the arms he had taken, deſirous that the world might admire and emulate his native city, when they ſaw the faireſt temples adorned, not with Grecian ſpoils, nor with the unpleaſing monuments of kindred blood and domeſtic ruin, but with the ſpoils of barbarians, which bore this honorable inſcription, declaring the juſtice as well as valor of the conquerors, "That the people of Corinth, and Timoleon their general, having delivered the Greeks who dwelt in Sicily, from the Carthaginian yoke, made this offering, as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods."

After this Timoleon left the mercenaries to lay waſte the Carthaginian province, and returned to Syracuſe. By an

edict publiſhed there he baniſhed from Sicily the thouſand hired ſoldiers who deſerted him before the battle, and obliged them to quit Syracuſe before the ſun ſet. Theſe wretches paſſed over into Italy, where they were treacherouſly ſlain by the Brutians. Such was the vengeance which heaven took of their perfidiouſneſs.

Nevertheleſs, Mamercus, prince of Catana, and Icetes, either moved with envy at the ſucceſs of Timoleon, or dreading him as an implacable enemy, who thought no faith was to be kept with tyrants, entered into league with the Carthaginians, and deſired them to ſend a new army and general if they were not willing to loſe Sicily entirely. Hereupon, Giſco came with a fleet of ſeventy ſhips, and a body of Greeks whom he had taken into pay. The Carthaginians had not employed any Greeks before, but now they conſidered them as the braveſt and moſt invincible of men.

On this occaſion, the inhabitants of Meſſena riſing with one conſent, ſlew four hundred of the foreign ſoldiers, whom Timoleon had ſent to their aſſiſtance; and within the dependencies of Carthage, the mercenaries, commanded by Euthymus the Leucadian, were cut off by an ambuſh at a place called Hieræ.* Hence the good fortune of Timoleon became ſtill more famous; for theſe were ſome of the men who with Philodemus of Phocis and Onomarchus, had broke into the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and were partakers with them in the ſacrilege.† Shunned as execrable on this account, they wandered about Peloponneſus, where Timoleon, being in great want of men, took them into pay. When they came into Sicily, they were victorious in all the battles where he commanded in perſon; but after the great ſtruggles of the war were over, being ſent upon ſervice where ſuccors were required they periſhed by little

* We do not find there was any place in Sicily called *Hieræ*; in all probability therefore, it ſhould be read *Hietæ*; for Stephanus *de Urbib.* mentions a caſtle in Sicily of that name.

† The *ſacred war* commenced on this occaſion. The *Amphictyons* having condemned the people of Phocis in a heavy fine, for plundering the country of Cyrrha, which was dedicated to Apollo, and that people being unable to pay it, their whole country was judged forfeited to that god. Hereupon Philomelus, not Philodemus, called the people together, and adviſed them to ſeize the treaſures in the temple of Delphi, to enable them to hire forces to defend themſelves. This brought on a war that laſted ſix years; in the courſe of which moſt of the ſacrilegious perſons periſhed miſerably.

and little. Herein avenging juſtice ſeems to have been willing to make uſe of the proſperity of Timoleon as an apology for its delay, taking care, as it did, that no harm might happen to the good from the puniſhment of the wicked; inſomuch that the favor of the gods to that great man, was no leſs diſcerned and admired in his very loſſes, than in his greateſt ſucceſs.

Upon any of theſe little advantages, the tyrants took occaſion to ridicule the Syracuſans; at which they were highly incenſed. Mamercus, for inſtance, who valued himſelf on his poems and tragedies, talked in a pompous manner of the victory he had gained over the mercenaries, and ordered this inſolent inſcription to be put upon the ſhields which he dedicated to the gods,

> Theſe ſhields* with gold and ivory gay
> To our plain bucklers loſt the day.

Afterwards, when Timoleon was laying ſiege to Calauria, Icetes took the opportunity to make an inroad into the territories of Syracuſe, where he met with conſiderable booty; and having made great havoc, he marched back by Calauria itſelf, in contempt of Timoleon and the ſlender force he had with him. Timoleon ſuffered him to paſs, and then followed him with his cavalry and light armed foot. When Icetes ſaw he was purſued he croſſed the Damyrias,† and ſtood in a poſture to receive the enemy, on the other ſide. What emboldened him to do this, was the difficulty of the paſſage, and the ſteepneſs of the banks on both ſides. But a ſtrange diſpute of jealouſy and honor, which aroſe among the officers of Timoleon, awhile delayed the combat; for there was not one that was willing to go after another, but every man wanted to be foremoſt in the attack; ſo that their fording was likely to be very tumultuous and diſorderly by their joſtling each other, and preſſing to get before. To remedy this, Timoleon ordered them to decide the matter by lot, and that each for this purpoſe, ſhould give him his ring. He took the rings and ſhook them in the ſkirt of his robe, and the firſt that came up, happening to have a trophy for the ſeal, the young officers received it with joy, and crying out, that they would not wait for any other lot, made their way as faſt as poſſible

* They were ſhields that had been taken out of the temple at Delphi.

† Or the Laymyrias.

through the river, and fell upon the enemy, who unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, ſoon took to flight, throwing away their arms, and leaving a thouſand of their men dead upon the ſpot.

A few days after this, Timoleon marched into the territory of the Leontines, where he took Icetes alive; and his ſon Eupolemus, and Euthymus, his general of horſe, were brought to him bound by the ſoldiers. Icetes and his ſon were capitally puniſhed, as tyrants and traitors to their country. Nor did Euthymus find mercy, though remarkably brave and bold in action, becauſe he was accuſed of a ſevere ſarcaſm againſt the Corinthians. He had ſaid, it ſeems in a ſpeech he made to the Leontines, upon the Corinthians taking the field,* "That it was no "formidable matter, if the Corinthian dames were gone "out to take the air." Thus the generality of men are more apt to reſent a contemptuous word than an unjuſt action, and can bear any other injury better than diſgrace. Every hoſtile deed is imputed to the neceſſity of war, but ſatirical and cenſorious expreſſions are conſidered as the effects of hatred or malignity.

When Timoleon was returned, the Syracuſans brought the wife and daughters of Icetes to a public trial, who being there condemned to die, were executed accordingly. This ſeems to be the moſt exceptionable part of Timoleon's conduct; for, if he had interpoſed, the women would not have ſuffered. But he appears to have connived at it, and given them up to the reſentment of the people, who were willing to make ſome ſatisfaction to the *manes* of Dion, who expelled Dionyſius. For Icetes was the man who threw Arete the wife of Dion, his ſiſter Ariſtomache, and his ſon, who was yet a child, alive into the ſea; as we have related in the life of Dion.†

* A verſe in the Medea of Euripides, quite altered in the ſenſe by the different punctuation. Medea ſays there, ver. 24.

Κορινθιαι γυναικες, εξηλθον δομων,
Μη μοι τι μεμψεσθω.——

Inſtead of which Euthymus pronounced it thus:

Κορινθιαι γυναικες εξηλθον δομων.

† From this paſſage, and another before, it ſeems as if the life of Dion was written before this. And yet, in the life of Dion, Plutarch

Timoleon then marched to Catana againſt Mamercus who waited for him in order of battle upon the banks of the Abolus.* Mamercus was defeated and put to flight, with the loſs of above two thouſand men, no ſmall part of which conſiſted of the Punic ſuccors ſent by Giſco. Hereupon, the Carthaginians deſired him to grant them peace, which he did on the following conditions: "That they "ſhould hold only the lands within the Lycus;† that "they ſhould permit all who deſired it, to remove out of "their province, with their families and goods, and to "ſettle at Syracuſe; and that they ſhould renounce all "friendſhip and alliance with the tyrants." Mamercus reduced by this treaty to deſpair, ſet ſail for Italy, with an intent to bring the Lucanians againſt Timoleon and the Syracuſans. But inſtead of that, the crews tacking about with the galleys and returning to Sicily, delivered up Catana to Timoleon; which obliged Mamercus to take refuge at Meſſena, with Hippo, prince of that city. Timoleon coming upon them, and inveſting the place both by ſea and land, Hippo got on board a ſhip, and attempted to make his eſcape, but was taken by the Meſſenians themſelves; who expoſed him in the theatre; and calling their children out of the ſchools, as to the fineſt ſpectacle in the world, the puniſhment of a tyrant, they firſt ſcourged him, and then put him to death.

Upon this, Mamercus ſurrendered himſelf to Timoleon, agreeing to take his trial at Syracuſe, on condition that Timoelon himſelf would not be his accuſer. Being conducted to Syracuſe, and brought before the people, he attempted to pronounce an oration which he had compoſed long before for ſuch an occaſion; but being received with noiſe and clamor, he perceived that the aſſembly were determined to ſhow him no favor. He, therefore, threw off his upper garment, ran through the theatre, and daſhed his head violently againſt one of the ſteps, with a deſign to

ſpeaks, as if this was written firſt. For there, he ſays, *As we have written in the life of Timoleon.* In one of them, therefore, if not in both, thoſe references muſt have been made by the librarians, according to the different order in which theſe lives were placed.

* Ptolemy and others call this river *Alabus*, *Alabis*, or *Alabon*. It is near Hybla, between Catana and Syracuſe.

† Plutarch probably took the name of this river as he found it in Diodorus; but other hiſtorians call it the Halycus. Indeed, the *Carthaginians* might poſſibly give it the oriental aſpirate *ha*, which *ſignifies* no more than the particle the.

kill himſelf; but did not ſucceed according to his wiſh, for he was taken up alive, and ſuffered the puniſhment of thieves and robbers.

In this manner did Timoleon extirpate tyranny, and put a period to their wars. He found the whole iſland turned almoſt wild and ſavage with its misfortunes, ſo that its very inhabitants could hardly endure it, and yet he ſo civilized it again and rendered it ſo deſirable, that ſtrangers came to ſettle in the country, from which its own people had lately fled; the great cities of Agrigentum and Gela, which, after the Athenian war, had been ſacked and left deſolate by the Carthaginians, were now peopled again; the former by Megellus and Pheriſtus from Elea, and the latter by Gorgus from the iſle of Ceos, who alſo collected and brought with him ſome of the old citizens. Timoleon not only aſſured them of his protection, and of peaceful days to ſettle in, after the tempeſts of ſuch a war, but cordially entered into their neceſſities, and ſupplied them with every thing, ſo that he was even beloved by them as if he had been their founder. Nay, to that degree did he enjoy the affections of the Sicilians in general, that no war ſeemed concluded, no laws enacted, no lands divided, no political regulation made, in a proper manner, except it was reviſed and touched by him: He was the maſter builder who put the laſt hand to the work, and beſtowed upon it a happy elegance and perfection. Though at that time Greece boaſted a number of great men, whoſe achievments were highly diſtinguiſhed, Timotheus (for inſtance) Ageſilaus, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas, the laſt of whom Timoleon principally vied with, in the courſe of glory, yet we may diſcern in their actions a certain labor and ſtraining, which diminiſhes their luſtre, and ſome of them have afforded room for cenſure, and been followed with repentance; whereas there is not one action of Timoleon (if we except the extremities he proceeded to in the caſe of his brother) to which we may not, with Timæus, apply that paſſage of Sophocles,

——What *Venus*, or what *Love*,
Plac'd the fair parts in this harmonious whole.

For, as the poetry of Antimachus* and the portraits of

* Antimachus was an epic poet, who flouriſhed in the days of Socrates and Plato. He wrote a poem called the *Thebiad*. Quin-

Dionyſius,* both of them Colophonians, with all the nerves and ſtrength one finds in them, appear to be too much labored, and ſmell too much of the lamp; whereas the paintings of Nicomachus† and the verſes of Homer, beſide their other excellencies and graces, ſeem to have been ſtruck off with readineſs and eaſe; ſo, if we compare the exploits of Epaminondas and Ageſilaus, performed with infinite pains and difficulty, with thoſe of Timoleon, which, glorious as they were, had a great deal of freedom and eaſe in them, when we conſider the caſe well, we ſhall conclude the latter, not to have been the work of fortune indeed, but the effects of fortunate virtue.

He himſelf, it is true, aſcribed all his ſucceſſes to fortune. For when he wrote to his friends at Corinth, or addreſſed the Syracuſans, he often ſaid, he was highly indebted to that goddeſs, when ſhe was reſolved to ſave Sicily, for doing it under his name. In his houſe he built a chapel and offered ſacrifices to *Chance*,‡ and dedicated the houſe itſelf to *Fortune*; for the Syracuſans had given him one of the beſt houſes in the city, as a reward of his ſervices, and provided him, beſides, a very elegant and agreeable retreat in the country. In the country it was that he ſpent moſt of his time with his wife and children, whom he had ſent for from Corinth; for he never returned home; he took no part in the troubles of Greece, nor expoſed himſelf to public envy, the rock which great generals commonly ſplit upon in their inſatiable purſuits of honor and power, but

tilian (x. 1.) ſays, he had a force and ſolidity, together with an elevation of ſtyle, and had the ſecond place given him by the grammarians, after Homer; but as he failed in the paſſions, in the diſpoſition of his fable, and in the eaſe and elegance of manner, though he was ſecond, he was far from coming near the firſt.

* Dionyſius was a portrait painter. *Plin.* xxxv. 10.

† Pliny tells us, "Nicomachus painted with a ſwift as well as "maſterly hand; and that his pieces ſold for as much as a town was "worth." Ariſtratus, the tyrant of Sicyon, having agreed with him for a piece of work which ſeemed to require a conſiderable time, Nicomachus did not appear till within a few days of that on which he had agreed to finiſh it. Hereupon the tyrant talked of puniſhing him: but in thoſe few days he completed the thing in an admirable manner, and entirely to his ſatisfaction.

‡ When the ancients aſcribe any event to *fortune* they did not mean to deny the operation of the Deity in it, but only to exclude all human contrivance and power. And in events aſcribed to *chance*, they might poſſibly mean to exclude the agency of all rational beings, whether human or divine.

He remained in Sicily, enjoying the bleſſings he had eſtabliſhed; and of which the greateſt of all was, to ſee ſo many cities and ſo many thouſands of people happy through his means.

But ſince, according to the compariſon of Simonides, every republic muſt have ſome impudent ſlanderer, juſt as every lark muſt have a creſt on its head, ſo it was at Syracuſe; for Timoleon was attacked by two demagogues, Laphyſtius and Demænetus. The firſt of theſe having demanded of him ſureties that he would anſwer to an indictment which was to be brought againſt him, the people began to riſe, declaring they would not ſuffer him to proceed. But Timoleon ſtilled the tumult, by repreſenting, "That "he had voluntarily undergone ſo many labors and dan-"gers, on purpoſe that the meaneſt Syracuſan might have "recourſe, when he pleaſed, to the laws." And when Demænetus, in full aſſembly, alleged many articles againſt his behavior in command, he did not vouchſafe him any anſwer; he only ſaid, "He could not ſufficiently expreſs "his gratitude to the gods, for granting his requeſt, in "permitting him to ſee all the Syracuſans enjoy the lib-"erty of ſaying what they thought fit."

Having then confeſſedly performed greater things than any Grecian of his time, and been the only man that realized thoſe glorious achievements, to which the orators of Greece were conſtantly exhorting their countrymen in the general aſſemblies of the ſtates, fortune happily placed him at a diſtance from the calamities in which the mother-country was involved, and kept his hands unſtained with its blood. He made his courage and conduct appear in his dealings with the barbarians and with tyrants, as well as his juſtice and moderation wherever the Greeks or their friends were concerned. Very few of his trophies coſt his fellow citizens a tear, or put any of them in mourning; and yet, in leſs than eight years, he delivered Sicily from its inteſtine miſeries and diſtempers, and reſtored it to the native inhabitants.

After ſo much proſperity, when he was well advanced in years, his eyes began to fail him, and the defect increaſed ſo faſt, that he entirely loſt his ſight. Not that he had done any thing to occaſion it, nor was it to be imputed to the caprice of fortune,* but it ſeems to have been owing to a

* Plutarch here hints at an opinion which was very prevalent among the Pagans, that if any perſon was ſignally favored with

family weakneſs and diſorder, which operated together, with the courſe of time. For ſeveral of his relations are ſaid to have loſt their ſight in the ſame manner, having it gradually impaired by years. But Athanis tells us, notwithſtanding, that during the war with Hippo and Mamercus, and while he lay before Millæ, a white ſpeck appeared on his eye, which was a plain indication that blindneſs was coming on. However, this did not hinder him from continuing the ſiege, and proſecuting the war, until he got the tyrants in his power. But, when he was returned to Syracuſe, he laid down the command immediately, and excuſed himſelf to the people from any farther ſervice, as he had brought their affairs to a happy concluſion.

It is not to be wondered, that he bore his misfortune without repining; but it was really admirable to obſerve the honor and reſpect which the Syracuſans paid him when blind. They not only viſited him conſtantly themſelves, but brought all ſtrangers who ſpent ſome time amongſt them, to his houſe in the town, or to that in the country, that they too might have the pleaſure of ſeeing the deliverer of Syracuſe. And it was their joy and their pride that he choſe to ſpend his days with them, and deſpiſed the ſplendid reception which Greece was prepared to give him, on account of his great ſucceſs. Among the many votes that were paſſed, and things that were done in honor of him, one of the moſt ſtriking was that decree of the people of Syracuſe, "That whenever they ſhould "be at war with a foreign nation, they would employ a "Corinthian general." Their method of proceeding, too, in their aſſemblies, did honor to Timoleon; for they decided ſmaller matters by themſelves, but conſulted him in the more difficult and important caſes. On theſe occaſions he was conveyed in a litter through the market place to the theatre; and when he was carried in, the people ſaluted him with one voice, as he ſat. He returned the civility, and having pauſed awhile to give time for their acclamations, took cognizance of the affair, and delivered his opinion. The aſſembly gave their ſanction to it, and then his ſervants carried the litter back through the theatre; and the people having waited on him out with loud ap-

ſucceſs, there would ſome misfortune happen, to counterbalance it. This they imputed to the envy of ſome malignant demon.

plauſes, deſpatched the reſt of the public buſineſs without him.

With ſo much reſpect and kindneſs was the old age of Timoleon cheriſhed, as that of a common father! and at laſt he died of a ſlight illneſs cooperating with length of years.* Some time being given the Syracuſans to prepare for his funeral, and for the neighboring inhabitants and ſtrangers to aſſemble, the whole was conducted with great magnificence. The bier, ſumptuouſly adorned, was carried by young men ſelected by the people, over the ground where the palace and caſtle of the tyrants ſtood, before they were demoliſhed. It was followed by many thouſands of men and women, in the moſt pompous ſolemnity, crowned with garlands and clothed in white. The lamentations and tears, mingled with the praiſes of the deceaſed, ſhowed that the honor now paid him was not a matter of courſe, or compliance with a duty enjoined, but the teſtimony of real ſorrow and ſincere affection. At laſt, the bier being placed upon the funeral pile, Demetrius, who had the loudeſt voice of all their heralds, was directed to make proclamation, as follows: "The people of Syracuſe inter Timoleon the Corinthian, the ſon of Timodemus, at the expenſe of two hundred *minæ*; they honor him, moreover, through all time with annual games, to be celebrated with performances in muſic, horſe racing, and wreſtling; as the man who deſtroyed tyrants, ſubdued barbarians, repeopled great cities which lay deſolate, and reſtored to the Sicilians their laws and privileges."

The body was interred, and a monument erected for him in the market place, which they afterwards ſurrounded with porticos and other buildings ſuitable to the purpoſe, and then made it a place of exerciſe for their youth, under the name of *Timoleonteum*. They continued to make uſe of the form of government and the laws that he eſtabliſhed, and this enſured their happineſs for a long courſe of years.†

* He died the laſt year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad, three hundred and thirtyfive years before the Chriſtian era.

† This proſperity was interrupted about thirty years after, by the cruelties of Agathocles.

PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

WHEN I firſt applied myſelf to the writing of theſe lives, it was for the ſake of others, but I purſue that ſtudy for my own ſake; availing myſelf of hiſtory as of a mirror, from which I learn to adjuſt and regulate my own conduct. For it is like living and converſing with theſe illuſtrious men, when I invite, as it were, and receive them, one after another, under my roof; when I conſider *how great and wonderful they were,** and ſelect from their actions the moſt memorable and glorious.

Ye gods! what greater pleaſure?
What HAPPIER ROAD TO VIRTUE?

Democritus has a poſition in his philoſophy,† utterly falſe indeed, and leading to endleſs ſuperſtitions, that there are phantaſms, or images, continually floating in the air, ſome propitious, and ſome unlucky, and adviſes us to pray, that ſuch may ſtrike upon our ſenſes, as are agreeable to and perfective of our nature, and not ſuch as have a tendency to vice and error. For my part, inſtead of this, I fill my mind with the ſublime images of the beſt and greateſt men, by attention to hiſtory and biography; and if I contract any blemiſh or ill cuſtom from other company which I am unavoidably engaged in, I correct and expel them, by calmly and diſpaſſionately turning my thoughts to theſe excellent examples. For the ſame purpoſe, I now put in your hands the life of Timoleon the Corinthian, and that of Æmilius Paulus, men famous not only for their virtues, but their ſucceſs; inſomuch that they have left room to doubt, whether their great achievements were not more owing to their good fortune than their prudence.

Moſt writers agree, that the Æmilian family was one of the moſt ancient among the Roman nobility; and it is

* ὁσσος ἐην οἷος πο———*Hom.* Il. xxiv. ver. 629.

† Democritus held that viſible objects produced their image in the ambient air, which image produced a ſecond, and the ſecond a third ſtill leſs than the former, and ſo on till the laſt produced its counterpart in the eye. This he ſuppoſed the proceſs of the act of viſion. But he went on to what is infinitely more abſurd. He maintained that thought was formed, according as thoſe images ſtruck upon the imagination; that of theſe there were ſome good and ſome evil; that the good produced virtuous thoughts in us, *and the evil the contrary.*

aſſerted, that the founder of it, who alſo left it his ſurname, was Mamercus* the ſon of Pythagoras the philoſopher,† who, for the peculiar charms and gracefulneſs of his elocution was called Æmilius; ſuch, at leaſt, is the opinion of thoſe who ſay that Numa was educated under Pythagoras.

Thoſe of this family that diſtinguiſhed themſelves,‡ found their attachment to virtue generally bleſſed with ſucceſs. And notwithſtanding the ill fortune of Lucius Paulus at Cannæ, he ſhowed on that occaſion both his prudence and his valor. For, when he could not diſſuade his colleague from fighting, he joined him in the combat, though much againſt his will, but did not partake with him in his flight; on the contrary, when he who plunged them in the danger, deſerted the field, Paulus ſtood his ground, and fell bravely amidſt the enemy, with his ſword in his hand.

This Paulus had a daughter named Æmilia, who was married to Scipio the Great, and a ſon called Paulus, whoſe hiſtory I am now writing.

At the time he made his appearance in the world, Rome abounded in men who were celebrated for their virtues and other excellent accompliſhments;‖ and even among theſe Æmilius made a diſtinguiſhed figure, without purſuing the ſame ſtudies, or ſetting out in the ſame track, with the young nobility of that age. For he did not exerciſe himſelf in pleading cauſes, nor could he ſtoop to ſalute, to ſolicit and careſs the people, which was the method that moſt men took who aimed at popularity. Not but that he had talents from nature to acquit himſelf well in either of theſe reſpects, but he reckoned the honor that flows from valor, from juſtice and probity, preferable to both; and in theſe virtues he ſoon ſurpaſſed all the young men of his time.

The firſt of the great offices of ſtate for which he was a candidate, was that of *ædile*, and he carried it againſt twelve competitors, who, we are told, were all afterwards

* See the life of Numa.

† He is called Pythagoras the philoſopher, to diſtinguiſh him from Pythagoras the famed wreſtler.

‡ From Lucius Æmilius, who was conſul in the year of Rome two hundred and ſeventy, and overcame the Volſcians, to Lucius Paulus, who was father to Paulus Æmilius, and who fell at Cannæ, in the year of Rome five hundred and thirtyſeven, there were many of thoſe Æmilii renowned for their victories and triumphs.

‖ In that period we find the Sempronii, the Albini, the Fabii Maximi, the Marcelli, the Scipios, the Fulvii, Sulpitii, Cethegi, Metelli; and other great and excellent men.

conſuls. And when he was appointed one of the *augurs*, whom the Romans employ in the inſpection and care of divination by the flight of birds, and by prodigies in the air, he ſtudied ſo attentively the uſages of his country, and acquainted himſelf ſo perfectly with the ancient ceremonies of religion, that what before was only conſidered as an honor, and ſought for on account of the authority annexed to it,* appeared in his hands to be one of the principal arts. Thus he confirmed the definition which is given by ſome philoſophers, *That religion is the ſcience of worſhipping the gods.* He did every thing with ſkill and application; he laid aſide all other concerns while he attended to this, and made not the leaſt omiſſion or innovation, but diſputed with his colleagues about the ſmalleſt article, and inſiſted, that though the Deity might be ſuppoſed to be merciful, and willing to overlook ſome neglect, yet it was dangerous for the ſtate to connive at and paſs by ſuch things. *For no man ever began his attempts againſt government with an enormous crime; and the relaxing in the ſmalleſt matters, breaks down the fences of the greateſt.*

Nor was he leſs exact in requiring and obſerving the Roman military diſcipline. He did not ſtudy to be popular in command, nor endeavor, like the generality to make one commiſſion the foundation for another, by humoring and indulging the ſoldiery;† but as a prieſt inſtructs the initiated with care in the ſacred ceremonies, ſo he explained to thoſe that were under him the rules and cuſtoms of war; and being inexorable at the ſame time, to thoſe that tranſgreſſed them, he reeſtabliſhed his country in its former glory. Indeed, with him, the beating of an enemy was a matter of much leſs account, than the bringing of his countrymen to ſtrict diſcipline; the one ſeeming to be the neceſſary conſequence of the other.

During the war which the Romans were engaged in with Antiochus the Great,‡ in the eaſt, and|| in which their

* Under pretence that the auſpices were favorable or otherwiſe, the *augurs* had it in their power to promote or put a ſtop to any public affair whatever.

† The Roman ſoldiers were, at the ſame time, citizens, who had votes for the great employments, both civil and military.

‡ The war with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, began about the year of Rome five hundred and ſixtyone, twentyfour years after the battle of Cannæ.

|| The Conſul Glabrio, and after him the two Scipios; the elder of whom was content to ſerve as lieutenant under his brother. *Liv.* l. xxxvii.

moſt experienced officers were employed, another broke out in the weſt. There was a general revolt in Spain;* and thither Æmilius was ſent, not with ſix *lictors* only, like other *prætors*, but with twice the number; which ſeemed to raiſe his dignity to an equality with the conſular. He beat the barbarians in two pitched battles,† and killed thirty thouſand of them; which ſucceſs appears to have been owing to his generalſhip in chooſing his ground, and attacking the enemy while they were paſſing a river; for by theſe means his army gained an eaſy victory. He made himſelf maſter of two hundred and fifty cities, which voluntarily opened their gates; and having eſtabliſhed peace throughout the province, and ſecured its allegiance, he returned to Rome, not a *drachma* richer than he went out. He never indeed was deſirous to enrich himſelf, but lived in a generous manner on his own eſtate, which was ſo far from being large, that after his death, it was hardly ſufficient to anſwer his wife's dowry.

His firſt wife was Papiria, the daughter of Papirius Maſo, a man of conſular dignity. After he had lived with her a long time in wedlock he divorced her, though ſhe had brought him very fine children; for ſhe was mother to the illuſtrious Scipio and to Fabius Maximus. Hiſtory does not acquaint us with the reaſon of this ſeparation; but with reſpect to divorces in general, the account which a certain Roman, who put away his wife, gave of his own caſe, ſeems to be a juſt one. When his friends remonſtrated, and aſked him, *Was ſhe not chaſte? Was ſhe not fair? Was ſhe not fruitful?* he held out his ſhoe, and ſaid, *Is it not handſome? Is it not new? yet none knows where it wrings him, but he that wears it.* Certain it is, that men uſually repudiate their wives for great and viſible faults; yet ſometimes alſo a peeviſhneſs of temper or incompliance of manners, ſmall and frequent diſtaſtes, though not diſcerned by the world, produce the moſt incurable averſions in a married life.‡

* Spain had been reduced by Scipio Naſica.

† Livy, xxxvii. 57, ſpeaks only of one battle, in which Paulus Æmilius forced the intrenchments of the Spaniards, killed eighteen thouſand of them, and made three hundred priſoners.

‡ The very ingenious Dr. Robertſon mentions this frequency of divorces as one of the neceſſary reaſons for introducing the Chriſtian religion at that period of time when it was publiſhed to the world. "Divorces," ſays he, "on very ſlight pretences were permitted both "by the Greek and Roman legiſlators. And though the pure manners "of thoſe republics reſtrained for ſome time the operation of ſuch

Æmilius, thus ſeparated from Papiria, married a ſecond wife, by whom he had alſo two ſons. Theſe he brought up in his own houſe; the ſons of Papiria being adopted into the greateſt and moſt noble families in Rome, the elder by Fabius Maximus, who was five times conſul, and the younger by his couſin german, the ſon of Scipio Africanus, who gave him the name of Scipio. One of his daughters was married to the ſon of Cato, and the other to Ælius Tubero, a man of ſuperior integrity, and who of all the Romans, knew beſt how to bear poverty. There were no leſs than ſixteen of the Ælian family and name, who had only a ſmall houſe, and one farm amongſt them; and in this houſe they all lived with their wives and many children. Here dwelt the daughter of Æmilius, who had been twice conſul, and had triumphed twice, not aſhamed of her huſband's poverty, but admiring that virtue which kept him poor. Very different is the behavior of brothers and other near relations in theſe days; who, if their poſſeſſions be not ſeparated by extenſive countries, or at leaſt rivers and bulwarks, are perpetually at variance about them. So much inſtruction does hiſtory ſuggeſt to the conſideration of thoſe who are willing to profit by it.

When Æmilius was created conſul,* he went upon an expedition againſt the Ligurians, whoſe country lies at the foot of the Alps, and who are alſo called Liguſtines; a bold

" a pernicious inſtitution; though the virtue of private perſons ſel-
" dom abuſed the indulgence that the legiſlator allowed them, yet
" no ſooner had the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power and the pro-
" greſs of luxury vitiated the taſte of men, than the law with regard
" to divorces was found to be amongſt the worſt corruptions that
" prevailed in that abandoned age. The facility of ſeparations ren-
" dered married perſons careleſs of practiſing or obtaining thoſe vir-
" tues which render domeſtic life eaſy and delightful. The educa-
" tion of their children, as the parents were not mutually endeared
" or inſeparably connected, was generally diſregarded, as each parent
" conſidered it but a partial care, which might with equal juſtice de-
" volve on the other. Marriage, inſtead of reſtraining, added to the
" violence of irregular deſire, and under a legal title became the vil-
" eſt, and moſt ſhameleſs proſtitution. From all theſe cauſes the
" married ſtate fell into diſreputation and contempt, and it became
" neceſſary to force men by penal laws into a ſociety where they
" expected no ſecure or laſting happineſs. Among the Romans
" domeſtic corruption grew of a ſudden to an incredible height.
" And perhaps in the hiſtory of mankind we can find nō parallel
" to the undiſguiſed impurity and licentiouſneſs of that age. It
" was in good time therefore, &c. &c.

* It was the year following that he went againſt the Ligurians.

and martial people that learnt the art of war of the Romans, by means of their vicinity. For they dwelt in the extremities of Italy, bordering upon that part of the Alps which is waſhed by the Tuſcan ſea, juſt oppoſite to Africa, and were mixed with the Gauls and Spaniards who inhabited the coaſt. At that time they had likewiſe ſome ſtrength at ſea, and their corſairs plundered and deſtroyed the merchant ſhips as far as the Pillars of Hercules. They had an army of forty thouſand men to receive Æmilius, who came but with eight thouſand at the moſt. He engaged them, however, though five times his number, routed them entirely, and ſhut them up within their walled towns. When they were in theſe circumſtances, he offered them reaſonable and moderate terms. For the Romans did not chooſe utterly to cut off the people of Liguria, whom they conſidered as a bulwark againſt the Gauls, who were always hovering over Italy. The Ligurians, confiding in Æmilius, delivered up their ſhips and their towns. He only razed the fortifications, and then delivered the cities to them again; but he carried off their ſhipping, leaving them not a veſſel bigger than thoſe with three banks of oars; and he ſet at liberty a number of priſoners whom they had made both at ſea and land, as well Romans as ſtrangers.

Such were the memorable actions of his firſt conſulſhip. After which he often expreſſed his deſire of being appointed again to the ſame high office, and even ſtood candidate for it; but, meeting with a repulſe, he ſolicited it no more. Inſtead of that he applied himſelf to the diſcharge of his function as *augur*, and to the education of his ſons, not only in ſuch arts as had been taught in Rome, and thoſe that he had learnt himſelf, but alſo in the genteeler arts of Greece. To this purpoſe he not only entertained maſters who could teach them grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but ſculpture alſo and painting, together with ſuch as were ſkilled in breaking and teaching horſes and dogs, and were to inſtruct them in riding and hunting. When no public affairs hindered him, he himſelf always attended their ſtudies and exerciſes. In ſhort, he was the moſt indulgent parent in Rome.

As to public affairs, the Romans were then engaged in a war with Perſeus*, king of the Macedonians, and they

* This ſecond Macedonian war with Perſeus began in the year of Rome five hundred and eightytwo, a hundred and ſixtynine years before the Chriſtian era.

imputed it either to the incapacity or cowardice of their generals,* that the advantage was on the enemy's ſide. For they who had forced Antiochus the Great to quit the reſt of Aſia,† driven him beyond Mount Taurus, confined him to Syria, and made him think himſelf happy if he could purchaſe his peace with fifteen thouſand talents;‡ they who had lately vanquiſhed king Philip in Theſſaly,‖ and delivered the Greeks from the Macedonian yoke; in ſhort, they who had ſubdued Hannibal, to whom no king could be compared either for valor or power, thought it an intolerable thing to be obliged to contend with Perſeus upon equal terms, as if *he* could be an adverſary able to cope with them, who only brought into the field the poor remains of his father's routed forces. In this, however, the Romans were deceived; for they knew not that Philip, after his defeat, had raiſed a much more numerous and better diſciplined army than he had before. It may not be amiſs to explain this in a few words, beginning at the fountain head. Antigonus,§ the moſt powerful among the generals and ſucceſſors of Alexander, having gained for himſelf and his deſcendants the title of king, had a ſon named Demetrius, who was father to Antigonus, ſurnamed *Gonatus*. *Gonatus* had a ſon named Demetrius, who after a ſhort reign left a young ſon called *Philip*. The Macedonian nobility dreading the confuſion, often conſequent upon a minority, ſet up Antigonus, couſin to the deceaſed king, and gave him his widow, the mother of Philip, to wife. At firſt they made him only regent and general, but afterwards finding that he was a moderate and public ſpirited man, they declared him king. He it was that had the name of

* Thoſe generals were P. Licinius Craſſus, after him A. Hoſtilius Mancinus, and then Q. Martius Philippus, who dragged the war heavily on during the three years of their conſulſhip.

† Seventeen years before.

‡ Livy ſays twelve thouſand, which were to be paid in twelve years, by a thouſand talents a year.

‖ This ſervice was performed by Quinctius Flaminius, who defeated Philip in Theſſaly, killed 8000 of his men upon the ſpot, took 5000 priſoners, and after his victory cauſed proclamation to be made by an herald at the Iſthmean Games, that Greece was free.

§ This Antigonus killed Eumenes, and took Babylon from Seleucus; and when his ſon Demetrius had overthrown Ptolemy's fleet at Cyprus, he, the firſt of all Alexander's ſucceſſors, preſumed to wear a diadem, and aſſumed the title of king.

Doſon,* becauſe he was always promiſing but never performed what he promiſed. After him, Philip mounted the throne, and, though yet but a youth, ſoon ſhowed himſelf equal to the greateſt of kings, ſo that it was believed he would reſtore the crown of Macedon to its ancient dignity, and be the only man that could ſtop the progreſs of the Roman power, which was now extending itſelf over all the world. But being beaten at Scotuſa by Titus Flaminius, his courage ſunk for the preſent, and promiſing to receive ſuch terms as the Romans ſhould impoſe, he was glad to come off with a moderate fine. But recollecting himſelf afterwards, he could not brook the diſhonor. To reign by the courteſy of the Romans, appeared to him more ſuitable to a ſlave, who minds nothing but his pleaſures, than to a man who has any dignity of ſentiment, and therefore he turned his thoughts to war, but made his preparations with great privacy and caution. For ſuffering the towns that were near the great roads and by the ſea, to run to decay, and to become half deſolate, in order that he might be held in contempt by the enemy, he collected a great force in the higher provinces; and filling the inland places, the towns, and caſtles, with arms, money, and men, fit for ſervice, without making any ſhow of war, he had his troops always in readineſs for it, like ſo many wreſtlers trained and exerciſed in ſecret. For he had in his arſenal, arms for thirty thouſand men, in his garriſons eight millions of meaſures of wheat, and money in his coffers to defray the charge of maintaining ten thouſand mercenaries for ten years, to defend his country. But he had not the ſatisfaction of putting theſe deſigns in execution; for he died of grief and a broken heart, on diſcovering that he had unjuſtly put Demetrius, his more worthy ſon, to death,† in conſequence of an accuſation preferred by his other ſon, Perſeus.

Perſeus, who ſurvived him, inherited together with the crown, his father's enmity to the Romans; but he was not equal to ſuch a burden, on account of the littleneſs of his capacity and the meanneſs of his manners; avarice being the principal of the many paſſions that reigned in his diſtempered heart. It is even ſaid, that he was not the ſon of Philip, but that the wife of that prince took him, as ſoon

* *Doſon* ſignifies *will give*.

† This ſtory is finely embelliſhed in Dr. Young's tragedy of *the Brothers*.

as he was born, from his mother, who was a ſempſtreſs of Argos, named Gnathænia, and paſſed him upon her huſband as her own. And the chief reaſon of his compaſſing the death of his brother ſeemed to have been his fear that the royal houſe, having a lawful heir, might prove him to be ſuppoſititious. But though he was of ſuch an abject and ungenerous diſpoſition, yet elated with the proſperous ſituation of his affairs, he engaged in war with the Romans, and maintained the conflict a long while, repulſing ſeveral of their fleets and armies, commanded by men of conſular dignity, and even beating ſome of them. Publius Licinius was the firſt that invaded Macedonia, and him he defeated in an engagement of the cavalry,* killed two thouſand five hundred of his beſt men, and took ſix hundred priſoners. He ſurpriſed the Roman fleet which lay at anchor at Ormeum, took twenty of their ſtore ſhips, ſunk the reſt that were loaded with wheat, and made himſelf maſter, beſides, of four galleys which had each five benches of oars. He fought alſo another battle, by which he drove back the conſul Hoſtilius, who was attempting to enter his kingdom by Elimia; and when the ſame general was ſtealing in by the way of Theſſaly, he preſented himſelf before him, but the Roman did not chooſe to ſtand the encounter. And as if this war did not ſufficiently employ him, or the Romans alone were not an enemy reſpectable enough, he went upon an expedition againſt the Dardanians, in which he cut in pieces ten thouſand of them, and brought off much booty. At the ſame time, he privately ſolicited the Gauls, who dwell near the Danube, and who are called Baſtarnæ.—Theſe were a warlike people, and ſtrong in cavalry. He tried the Illyrians too, hoping to bring them to join him by means of Gentius their king; and it was reported that the barbarians had taken his money, under promiſe of making an inroad into Italy, by the lower Gaul along the coaſt of the Adriatic.†

* Livy has given us a deſcription of this action at the end of his fortyſecond book. Perſeus offered peace to thoſe he had beaten upon as eaſy conditions as if he himſelf had been overthrown, but the Romans refuſed it: They made it a rule, indeed, never to make peace when beaten. The rule proved a wiſe one for that people, but can never be univerſally adopted.

† He practiſed alſo with Eumenes king of Bithynia, and cauſed repreſentations to be made to Antiochus king of Syria, that the Romans were equally enemies to all kings: But Eumenes demanding fifteen

When this news was brought to Rome, the people thought proper to lay aſide all regard to intereſt and ſolicitation in the choice of their generals, and to call to the command a man of underſtanding, fit for the direction of great affairs. Such was Paulus Æmilius, a man advanced in years indeed, (for he was about threeſcore) but ſtill in his full ſtrength, and ſurrounded with young ſons and ſons in law, and a number of other conſiderable relations and friends, who all perſuaded him to liſten to the people, that called him to the conſulſhip. At firſt he received the offer of the citizens very coldly, though they went ſo far as to court and even to entreat him; for he was now no longer ambitious of that honor: But as they daily attended at his gate, and loudly called upon him to make his appearance in the *forum*, he was at length prevailed upon. When he put himſelf among the candidates, he looked not like a man who ſued for the conſulſhip, but as one who brought ſucceſs along with him: And when, at the requeſt of the citizens, he went down into the *Campus Martius*, they all received him with ſo entire a confidence and ſuch a cordial regard, that upon their creating him conſul the ſecond time, they would not ſuffer the lots to be caſt for the provinces,* as uſual, but voted him immediately the direction of the war in Macedonia. It is ſaid, that after the people had appointed him commander in chief againſt Perſeus, and conducted him home in a very ſplendid manner, he found his daughter Tertia, who was yet but a child, in tears. Upon this he took her in his arms, and aſked her "Why ſhe wept?" The girl embracing and kiſſing him, ſaid, "Know you not then, father, that Perſeus is dead?" meaning a little dog of that name, which ſhe had brought up. To which Æmilius replied, "It is a lucky incident, "child, I accept the omen." This particular is related by Cicero in his Treatiſe on *Divination*.

It was the cuſtom for thoſe that were appointed to the conſulſhip, to make their acknowledgments to the people in an agreeable ſpeech from the *roſtrum*; Æmilius having aſſembled the citizens on this occaſion, told them, "He "had applied for his former conſulſhip, becauſe he wanted

hundred talents, a ſtop was put to the negotiation. The very treating, however, with Perſeus, occaſioned an inveterate hatred between the Romans and their old friend Eumenes; but that hatred was of no ſervice to Perſeus.

* Livy ſays the contrary.

"a command; but in this, they had applied to him, be-
"cauſe they wanted a commander: And therefore, at
"preſent, he did not hold himſelf obliged to them. If
"they could have the war better directed by another, he
"would readily quit the employment; but if they placed
"their confidence in him, he expected they would not in-
"terfere with his orders, or propagate idle reports, but
"provide in ſilence what was neceſſary for the war: For,
"if they wanted to command their commanders, their
"expeditions would be more ridiculous than ever." It is
not eaſy to expreſs how much reverence this ſpeech pro-
cured him from the citizens, and what high expectations
it produced of the event. They rejoiced that they had
paſſed by the ſmooth tongued candidates, and made choice
of a general who had ſo much freedom of ſpeech and ſuch
dignity of manner. Thus the Romans ſubmitted, like
ſervants, to reaſon and virtue, in order that they might
one day rule, and become maſters of the world.

That Paulus Æmilius, when he went upon the Macedo-
nian expedition, had a proſperous voyage and journey, and
arrived with ſpeed and ſafety in the camp, I impute to his
good fortune; but when I conſider how the war was con-
ducted, and ſee that the greatneſs of his courage, the ex-
cellence of his counſels, the attachment of his friends, his
preſence of mind and happineſs in expedients in times of
danger, all contributed to his ſucceſs, I cannot place his
great and diſtinguiſhed actions to any account but his own.
Indeed, the avarice of Perſeus may poſſibly be looked upon
as a fortunate circumſtance for Æmilius; ſince it blaſted
and ruined the great preparations and elevated hopes of the
Macedonians, by a mean regard to money. For the Ba-
ſtarnæ came, at his requeſt, with a body of ten thouſand
horſe,* each of which had a foot ſoldier by his ſide, and
they all fought for hire; men they were that knew not how
to till the ground, to feed cattle, or to navigate ſhips, but

* Livy (xliv. 26) has well deſcribed this horſeman and his foot-
ſoldier. He ſays, "There came ten thouſand horſe, and as many
"foot, who kept pace with the horſe, and when any of the cavalry
"were unhorſed, they mounted, and went into the ranks." They
were the ſame people with thoſe deſcribed by Cæſar in the firſt
book of his Commentaries, where he is giving an account of Ario-
viſtus's army. As ſoon as Perſeus had intelligence of the approach
of the Baſtarnæ, he ſent Antigonus to congratulate Clondicus their
king. Clondicus made anſwer, that the Gauls could not march a
ſtep farther without money; which Perſeus in his avarice and ill
policy refuſed to advance.

whoſe ſole profeſſion and employment was to fight and to conquer. When theſe pitched their tents in Medica, and mingled with the king's forces, who beheld them tall in their perſons, ready beyond expreſſion at their exerciſes, lofty and full of menaces againſt the enemy, the Macedonians were inſpired with freſh courage, and a ſtrong opinion, that the Romans would not be able to ſtand againſt theſe mercenaries, but be terrified both at their looks and at their ſtrange and aſtoniſhing motions.

After Perſeus had filled his people with ſuch ſpirits and hopes, the barbarians demanded of him a thouſand pieces of gold for every officer; but the thoughts of parting with ſuch a ſum almoſt turned his brain, and in the narrowneſs of his heart he refuſed it, and broke off the alliance; as if he had not been at war with the Romans, but a ſteward for them, who was to give an exact account of his whole expenſes to thoſe whom he was acting againſt. At the ſame time*

* We agree with the editor of the former Engliſh tranſlation, that the original here is extremely corrupted and very difficult to be reſtored; and that it ſeems improbable that the Romans ſhould have an army of a hundred thouſand men in Macedonia. But the improbability leſſens, if we conſider that Paulus Æmilius applied on this occaſion to the allies, eſpecially the Achæans, for what forces they could ſpare, and if we take in thoſe that acted on board the Roman fleet. Æmilius, indeed, juſt before the battle, expreſſes his apprehenſions from the enemy's ſuperiority of numbers; and it is true that he had none to depend upon but the Romans, who were comparatively few. As for his Grecian allies, he could not place much confidence in them, becauſe it was their intereſt that the kingdom of Macedon ſhould ſtand; and, in fact, when that fell, ſevere tribunals were ſet up in Greece, and the ſhadow of liberty, which remained to it, was loſt.

That tranſlation, however, has given a turn to the paſſage quite different from the ſenſe that may be gathered from the Greek and the whole context. It runs thus—*For though he had made ſuch vaſt preparations, though he had money in the treaſury ſufficient to pay a hundred thouſand men*, &c. How does this give any idea of the Romans being inſtructors, [διδασκαλοι] to Perſeus in point of expenſe?

The Greek in Bryan's edition, is και διδασκαλης ειχεν εκεινω; οι αλλης ταραςκευης, των δεκα μυριαδων ησαν ηθροισμενοι και παρεςωσαι τας χρειας. An anonymous manuſcript copy has it thus—οις ανευ της παρασκευης [τω] δεκα μυριαδες, &c.

But ανευ is a bad alteration, becauſe it implies that ſuch immenſe forces were collected without any ſtores or proviſions for them; and, the word τω we have put in brackets, becauſe it has nothing to do there. If the correction was made by ſome librarian, probably he thought the word ανευ ſignifies *beſides*, whereas it ſignifies only without.

the examples of the enemy pointed out to him better things; for, beſides their other preparations, they had an hundred thouſand men collected and ready for their uſe; and yet he having to oppoſe ſo conſiderable a force, and an armament that was maintained at ſuch an extraordinary expenſe, counted his gold and ſealed his bags, as much afraid to touch them as if they had belonged to another. And yet he was not deſcended from any Lydian or Phœnician merchant, but allied to Alexander and Philip, whoſe maxim it was *to procure empire with money, and not money by empire*, and who, by purſuing that maxim, conquered the world. For it was a common ſaying, "That it was not Philip, "but Philip's gold that took the cities of Greece." As for Alexander, when he went upon the Indian expedition, and ſaw the Macedonians dragging after them a heavy and unwieldy load of Perſian wealth, he firſt ſet fire to the royal carriages, and then perſuaded the reſt to do the ſame to theirs that they might move forward to the war, light and unencumbered: Whereas Perſeus, though he and his children and his kingdom overflowed with wealth, would not purchaſe his preſervation at the expenſe of a ſmall part of it, but was carried a wealthy captive to Rome, and ſhowed that people what immenſe ſums he had ſaved and laid up for them.

Nay, he not only deceived and ſent away the Gauls, but alſo impoſed upon Gentius king of the Illyrians, whom he prevailed with to join him, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of three hundred talents. He went ſo far as to order the money to be counted before that prince's envoys, and ſuffered them to put their ſeal upon it. Gentius, thinking his demands were anſwered, in violation of all the laws of honor and juſtice, ſeized and impriſoned the Roman ambaſſadors who were at his court. Perſeus now concluded that there was no need of money to draw his ally into the war, ſince he had unavoidably plunged himſelf into it, by an open inſtance of violence, and an act of hoſtility which would admit of no excuſe, and therefore he defrauded the unhappy man of the three hundred talents, and without the leaſt concern beheld him, his wife, and children, in a ſhort time after, dragged from their kingdom, by the prætor Lucius Anicius, who was ſent at the head of an army againſt Gentius.

Æmilius, having to do with ſuch an adverſary as Perſeus, deſpiſed, indeed, the man, yet could not but admire his preparations and his ſtrength. For he had four-thouſand

horſe, and near forty thouſand foot who compoſed the *phalanx*; and being encamped by the ſea ſide, at the foot of Mount Olympus, in a place that was perfectly inacceſſible and ſtrengthened on every ſide with fortifications of wood, he lay free from all apprehenſions, perſuaded that he ſhould wear out the conſul by protracting the time and exhauſting his treaſures. But Æmilius, always vigilant and attentive, weighed every expedient and method of attack; and perceiving that the ſoldiers, through the want of diſcipline in time paſt, were impatient of delay, and ready to dictate to their general things impoſſible to be executed, he reproved them with great ſeverity, ordering them not to intermeddle, or give attention to any thing but their own perſons and their arms, that they might be in readineſs to uſe their ſwords as became Romans, when their commander ſhould give them an opportunity. He ordered alſo the ſentinels to keep watch without their pikes,* that they might guard the better againſt ſleep, when they were ſenſible that they had nothing to defend themſelves with againſt the enemy, who might attack them in the night.

But his men complained the moſt of want of water; for only a little, and that but indifferent, flowed, or rather came drop by drop, from ſome ſprings near the ſea. In this extremity, Æmilius, ſeeing Mount Olympus before him very high and covered with trees, conjectured from their verdure, that there muſt be ſprings in it which would diſcharge themſelves at the bottom, and therefore cauſed ſeveral pits and wells to be dug at the foot of it. Theſe were ſoon filled with clear water, which ran into them with the greater force and rapidity, becauſe it had been confined before.

Some, however, deny, that there are any hidden ſources conſtantly provided with water in the places from which it flows; nor will they allow the diſcharge to be owing to the opening of a vein; but they will have it, that the water is formed inſtantaneouſly, from the condenſation of vapors, and that by the coldneſs and preſſure of the earth a moiſt vapor is rendered fluid. For, as the breaſts of women are not, like veſſels, ſtored with milk always ready to flow,

* Livy ſays, *without their ſhields*, the reaſon of which was this, the Roman ſhields being long, they might reſt their heads upon them, and ſleep ſtanding. Æmilius, however, made one order in favor of the ſoldiers upon guard; for he ordered them to be relieved at noon, whereas before they uſed to be upon duty all day.

but prepare and change the nutriment that is in them into milk; ſo the cold and ſpringy places of the ground, have not a quantity of water hid within them, which, as from reſervoirs always full, can be ſufficient to ſupply large ſtreams and rivers; but by compreſſing and condenſing the vapors and the air, they convert them into water. And ſuch places being opened, afford that element freely, juſt as the breaſts of women do milk from their being ſucked, by compreſſing and liquefying the vapor; whereas the earth that remains idle and undug, cannot produce any water, becauſe it wants that motion which alone is the true cauſe of it.

But thoſe that teach this doctrine, give occaſion to the ſceptical to obſerve, that by parity of reaſon there is no blood in animals, but that the wound produces it, by a change in the fleſh and ſpirits, which that impreſſion renders fluid. Beſides, that doctrine is refuted by thoſe who digging deep in the earth to undermine ſome fortification, or to ſearch for metals, meet with deep rivers, not collected by little and little, which would be the caſe, if they were produced at the inſtant the earth was opened, but ruſhing upon them at once in great abundance. And it often happens upon the breaking of a great rock, that a quantity of water iſſues out, which as ſuddenly ceaſes. So much for ſprings.

Æmilius ſat ſtill for [illegible] and it is ſaid that there never were two great armies ſo near each other, that remained ſo quiet. But trying and conſidering every thing he got information that there was one way only left unguarded, which lay through Perrhæbia, by Pythium and Petra; and conceiving greater hope from the defenceleſs condition of the place, than fear from its rugged and difficult appearance, he ordered the matter to be conſidered in council.

Scipio, ſurnamed Naſica, ſon in law to Scipio Africanus, who afterwards was a leading man in the ſenate, was the firſt that offered to head the troops in taking this circuit to come at the enemy. And after him Fabius Maximus, the eldeſt ſon of Æmilius, though he was yet but a youth, expreſſed his readineſs to undertake the enterpriſe. Æmilius, delighted with this circumſtance, gave them a detachment not ſo large indeed as Polybius gives account of, but the number that Naſica mentions in a ſhort letter wherein he deſcribes this action to a certain king. They had three thouſand Italians, who were not Romans, and five thouſand

men beſides, who compoſed the left wing. To theſe Naſica added a hundred and twenty horſe, and two hundred Thracians and Cretans intermixed, who were of the troops of Harpalus.

With this detachment he began to march towards the ſea, and encamped at Heracleum,* as if he intended to ſail round, and come upon the enemy's camp behind; but when his ſoldiers had ſupped, and night came on, he explained to the officers his real deſign, and directed them to take a different route. Purſuing this, without loſs of time, he arrived at Pythium, where he ordered his men to take ſome reſt. At this place Olympus is ten furlongs and ninetyſix feet in height, as it is ſignified in the inſcription made by Xenagoras the ſon of Eumelus, the man that meaſured it. The geometricians, indeed, affirm, that there is no mountain in the world more than ten furlongs high, nor ſea above that depth, yet it appears that Xenagoras did not take the height in a careleſs manner, but regularly and with proper inſtruments.

Naſica paſſed the night there. Perſeus, for his part, ſeeing Æmilius lie quiet in his camp, had not the leaſt thought of the danger that threatened him; but a Cretan deſerter who ſlipt from Scipio by the way, came and informed him of the cir[illegible] the Ro[illegible] as were taking in order to ſurpriſe him. Thi[illegible] him in great confuſion, yet he did not remove his c[illegible]p; he only ſent ten thouſand foreign mercenaries and two thouſand Macedonians under Milo, with orders to poſſeſs themſelves of the heights with all poſſible expedition. Polybius relates, that the Romans fell upon them while they were aſleep, but Naſica tells us there was a ſharp and dangerous conflict for the heights; that he himſelf killed a Thracian mercenary who engaged him, by piercing him through the breaſt with his ſpear; and that the enemy being routed, and Milo put to a ſhameful flight without his arms, and in his under garment only, he purſued them without any ſort of hazard, and led his party down into the plain. Perſeus terrified at this diſaſter, and diſappointed in his hopes, decamped and retired. Yet he was under a neceſſity of ſtopping before Pydna, and riſking

* The conſul gave out that they were to go on board the fleet, which under the command of Octavius the prætor, lay upon the coaſt, in order to waſte the maritime parts of Macedonia, and ſo to draw Perſeus from his camp.

a battle, if he did not chooſe to divide his army to garriſon his towns,* and there expect the enemy, who, when once entered into his country, could not be driven out without great ſlaughter and bloodſhed.

His friends repreſented to him, that his army was ſtill ſuperior in numbers, and that they would fight with great reſolution in defence of their wives and children, and in ſight of their king, who was a partner in their danger. Encouraged by this repreſentation, he fixed his camp there; he prepared for battle, viewed the country, and aſſigned each officer his poſt, as intending to meet the Romans when they came off their march. The field where he encamped was fit for the *phalanx*, which required plain and even ground to act in; near it was a chain of little hills, proper for the light armed to retreat to, and to wheel about from to the attack; and through the middle ran the rivers Æſon and Leucus, which, though not very deep, becauſe it was the latter end of ſummer, were likely to give the Romans ſome trouble.

Æmilius having joined Naſica, marched in good order againſt the enemy. But when he ſaw the diſpoſition and number of their forces, he was aſtoniſhed, and ſtood ſtill to conſider what was proper to be done. Hereupon the young officers eager for the engagement, and particularly Naſica, fluſhed with his ſucceſs at Mount Olympus, preſſed up to him, and begged of him to lead them forward without delay. Æmilius only ſmiled and ſaid, "My friend, "if I was of your age, I ſhould certainly do ſo; but the "many victories I have gained, have made me obſerve "the errors of the vanquiſhed, and forbid me to give "battle immediately after a march, to an army well "drawn up, and every way prepared."

Then he ordered the foremoſt ranks, who were in ſight of the enemy, to preſent a front, as if they were ready to engage, and the rear in the mean time, to mark out a camp and throw up intrenchments; after which, he made the battalions wheel off by degrees, beginning with thoſe next the ſoldiers at work, ſo that their diſpoſition was

* His beſt friends adviſed him to garriſon his ſtrongeſt cities with his beſt troops, and to lengthen out the war, experience having ſhown that the Macedonians were better able to defend cities, than the Romans were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected from this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he choſe for his reſidence might be firſt beſieged.

inſenſibly changed, and his whole army encamped without noiſe.

When they had ſupped, and were thinking of nothing but going to reſt, on a ſudden the moon, which was then at full, and very high, began to be darkened, and, after changing into various colors, was at laſt totally eclipſed.* The Romans, according to their cuſtom, made a great noiſe by ſtriking upon veſſels of braſs, and held up lighted faggots and torches in the air, in order to recal her light; but the Macedonians did no ſuch thing; horror and aſtoniſhment ſeized their whole camp, and a whiſper paſſed among the multitude, that this appearance portended the fall of the king. As for Æmilius, he was not entirely unacquainted with this matter; he had heard of the ecliptic inequalities which bring the moon, at certain periods, under the ſhadow of the earth, and darken her, till ſhe has paſt that quarter of obſcurity, and receives light from the ſun again. Nevertheleſs, as he was wont to aſcribe moſt events to the Deity, was a religious obſerver of ſacrifices and of the art of divination, he offered up to the moon eleven heifers, as ſoon as he ſaw her regain her former luſtre. At break of day, he alſo ſacrificed oxen to Hercules, to the number of twenty, without any auſpicious ſign; but in the twenty-firſt the deſired tokens appeared, and he announced victory to his troops, provided they ſtood upon the defenſive.† At the ſame time he vowed a hecatomb and ſolemn games in honor of that god, and then commanded the officers to put the army in order of battle; ſtaying, however, till the ſun ſhould decline, and get round to the weſt, leſt, if they came to action in the morning, it ſhould dazzle the eyes of his

* Livy tells us, that Sulpitius Gallus, one of the Roman tribunes foretold this eclipſe; firſt to the conſul, and then with his leave to the army, whereby that terror which eclipſes were wont to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the ſoldiers more and more diſpoſed to confide in officers of ſo great wiſdom, and of ſuch general knowledge.

† Here we ſee Æmilius availed himſelf of augury, to bring his troops the more readily to comply with what he knew was moſt prudent.——He was ſenſible of their eagerneſs and impetuoſity, but he was ſenſible at the ſame time that coolneſs and calm valor were more neceſſary to be exerted againſt the Macedonian phalanx, which was not inferior in courage and diſcipline to the Romans, and therefore he told them, that the gods enjoined them to ſtand upon the defenſive, if they deſired to be victorious. Another reaſon why Æmilius deferred the fight, was, as Plutarch tells us, becauſe the morning ſun was full in the eyes of his ſoldiers.

ſoldiers, he ſat down in the mean time in his tent, which was open towards the field and the enemy's camp.

Some ſay, that towards evening, he availed himſelf of an artifice, to make the enemy begin the fight. Its ſeems he turned a horſe looſe without a bridle, and ſent out ſome Romans to catch him, who were attacked while they were purſuing him, and ſo the engagement began. Others ſay, that the Thracians, commanded by one Alexander, attacked a Roman convoy; that ſeven hundred Ligurians making up to its aſſiſtance, a ſharp ſkirmiſh enſued; and that larger reinforcements being ſent to both parties, at laſt the main bodies were engaged. Æmilius, like a wiſe pilot foreſeeing, by the agitation of both armies, the violence of the impending ſtorm, came out of his tent, paſſed through the ranks, and encouraged his men. In the mean time, Naſica, who had rode up to the place where the ſkirmiſh began, ſaw the whole of the enemy's army advancing to the charge.

Firſt of all marched the Thracians, whoſe very aſpect ſtruck the beholders with terror. They were men of a prodigious ſize; their ſhields were white and gliſtering; their veſts were black, their legs armed with greaves; and as they moved, their long pikes, heavy ſhod with iron, ſhook on their right ſhoulders. Next came the mercenaries, variouſly armed, according to the manner of their reſpective countries; with theſe were mixed the Pæonians. In the third place moved forward the battalions of Macedon, the flower of its youth and the braveſt of its ſons: Their new purple veſts and gilded arms, made a ſplendid appearance. As theſe took their poſt, the *Chalcheſpides* moved out of the camp; the fields gleamed with the poliſhed ſteel and the brazen ſhields which they bore, and the mountains reechoed to their *cheers*. In this order they advanced, and that with ſo much boldneſs and ſpeed, that the firſt of their ſlain* fell only two furlongs from the Roman camp.

As ſoon as the attack was begun, Æmilius advanced to the firſt ranks, found that the foremoſt of the Macedonians had ſtruck the heads of their pikes into the ſhields of the Romans, ſo that it was impoſſible for his men to reach their adverſaries with their ſwords. And when he ſaw the reſt of the Macedonians take their bucklers from their ſhoulders join them cloſe together and with one motion preſent their pikes againſt his legions, the ſtrength of ſuch a rampart, and the formidable appearance of ſuch a front ſtruck him with terror

* The light armed.

and amazement. He never, indeed, ſaw a more dreadful ſpectacle, and he often mentioned afterwards the impreſſion it made upon him. However, he took care to ſhow a pleaſant and cheerful countenance to his men, and even rode about without either helmet or breaſtplate. But the king of Macedon, as Polybius tells us, as ſoon as the engagement was begun, gave way to his fears, and withdrew into the town, under pretence of ſacrificing to Hercules; a god that accepts not the timid offerings of cowards, nor favors any unjuſt vows. And ſurely it is not juſt, that the man who never ſhoots ſhould bear away the prize; that he who deſerts his poſt, ſhould conquer; that he who is deſpicably indolent, ſhould be ſucceſsful; or that a bad man ſhould be happy. But the god attended to the prayers of Æmilius; for he begged for victory and ſucceſs with his ſword in his hand, and fought while he implored the divine aid. Yet one Poſidonius,* who ſays he lived in thoſe times, and was preſent at that action, in the hiſtory of Perſeus, which he wrote in ſeveral books, affirms, that it was not out of cowardice, nor under pretence of offering ſacrifice that he quitted the field, but becauſe the day before the fight, he received a hurt on his leg, from the kick of a horſe; that when the battle came on, though very much indiſpoſed, and diſſuaded by his friends, he commanded one of his horſes to be brought, mounted him, and charged without a breaſtplate, at the head of the *phalanx*; and that, amidſt the ſhower of miſſive weapons of all kinds, he was ſtruck with a javelin of iron, not indeed with the point, but it glanced in ſuch a manner upon his left ſide, that it not only rent his clothes, but gave him a bruiſe in the fleſh, the mark of which remained along time. This is what Poſidonius ſays in defence of Perſeus.

The Romans who engaged the *phalanx*, being unable to break it, Salius, a Peligrian officer, ſnatched the enſign of his company and threw it among the enemy. Hereupon, the Peligrians ruſhing forward to recover it, for the Italians look upon it as a great crime and diſgrace to abandon their ſtandard, a dreadful conflict and ſlaughter on both ſides

* This could not be Poſidonius of Apamea, who wrote a continuation of Polybius's hiſtory; for that Poſidonius went to Rome during the conſulſhip of Marcellus a hundred and eighteen years after this battle. Plutarch, indeed, ſeems to have taken him either for a counterfeit, or a writer of no account, when he calls him *one* Poſidonius, *who tells us he lived at that time.*

enſued. The Romans attempted to cut the pikes of the Macedonians aſunder with their ſwords, to beat them back with their ſhields, or to put them by with their hands; but the Macedonians holding them ſteady with both hands, pierced their adverſaries through their armor, for neither ſhield nor corſlet was proof againſt the pike.* The Pelignians and Marrucinians were thrown headlong down, who without any ſort of diſcretion, or rather with a brutal fury, had expoſed themſelves to wounds, and run upon certain death. The firſt line thus cut in pieces, thoſe that were behind were forced to give back, and though they did not fly; yet they retreated towards Mount Olocrus. Æmilius ſeeing this, rent his clothes, as Poſidonius tells us. He was reduced almoſt to deſpair, to find that part of his men had retired, and that the reſt declined the combat with a *phalanx* which by reaſon of the pikes that defended it on all ſides like a rampart, appeared impenetrable and invincible. But as the unevenneſs of the ground and the large extent of the front would not permit their bucklers to be joined though the whole, he obſerved ſeveral interſtices and openings in the Macedonian line; as it happens in great armies, according to the different efforts of the combatants, who in one part preſs forward, and in another are forced to give back. For this reaſon, he divided his troops, with all poſſible expedition, into platoons, which he ordered to throw themſelves into the void ſpaces of the enemy's front; and ſo, not to engage with the whole at once, but to make many impreſſions at the ſame time in different parts. Theſe orders being given by Æmilius to the officers, and by the officers to the ſoldiers, they immediately made their way between the pikes, wherever there was an opening;† which was no ſooner done, than ſome took the enemy in flank, where they were quite expoſed, while others fetched a compaſs, and attacked them in the rear; thus was the *phalanx* ſoon broken, and its ſtrength, which depended upon one united effort, was no more. When they came to

* This ſhows the advantage which the pike has over the broad-ſword; and the bayonet is ſtill better, becauſe it gives the ſoldier the free uſe of his muſket, without being encumbered with a pike, and when ſcrewed to the muſket, ſupplies the place of a pike.

† On the firſt appearance of this, Perſeus ſhould have charged the Romans very briſkly with his horſe, and by that means have given his infantry time to recover themſelves; but inſtead of this, they, baſely provided for their own ſafety by a precipitate flight.

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th ſides; and here Marcus, the ſon of Cato, and ſon
to Æmilius, after ſurpriſing acts of valor, unfor-
ly loſt his ſword. As he was a youth who had re-
l all the advantages of education, and who owed to
ſtrious a father extraordinary inſtances of virtue, he
erſuaded that he had better die, than leave ſuch a
n the hands of his enemies. He, therefore, flew
gh the ranks, and wherever he happened to ſee any
friends or acquaintance, he told them his misfortune,
egged their aſſiſtance. A number of brave young
vas thus collected, who following their leader with
ardor, ſoon traverſed their own army, and fell upon
lacedonians. After a ſharp conflict and dreadful
ge, the enemy was driven back, and the ground being
acant, the Romans fought for the ſword, which with
difficulty was found under a heap of arms and dead
s. Tranſported with this ſucceſs, they charged thoſe
emained unbroken, with ſtill greater eagerneſs and
of triumph. The three thouſand Macedonians, who
all ſelect men, kept their ſtation, and maintained the
but at laſt, were entirely cut off. The reſt fled;
errible was the ſlaughter of thoſe. The field and the
of the hills were covered with the dead, and the river
as, which the Romans croſſed the day after the battle,
ven then mixed with blood. For it is ſaid, that about
yfive thouſand were killed on the Macedonian ſide;
eas the Romans, according to Poſidonius, loſt but
undred; Naſica ſays, only four ſcore.*
is great battle was ſoon decided, for it began at the
hour,† and victory declared herſelf before the tenth.
remainder of the day was employed in the purſuit,

* Utterly impoſſible! if the circumſtances of the fight are con-
l; but Livy's account is loſt.
† Three in the afternoon.

which was continued for the ſpace of an hundred and twenty furlongs, ſo that it was far in the night when they returned. The ſervants went with torches to meet their maſters, and conducted them with ſhouts of joy, to their tents, which they had illuminated, and adorned with crowns of ivy and laurel.*

But the general himſelf was overwhelmed with grief. For, of the two ſons that ſerved under him, the youngeſt, whom he moſt loved, and who, of all the brothers, was moſt happily formed for virtue, was not to be found. He was naturally brave and ambitious of honor, and withal very young,† he concluded that his inexperience had engaged him too far in the hotteſt of the battle, and that he was certainly killed. The whole army was ſenſible of his ſorrow and diſtreſs; and leaving their ſupper, they ran out with torches, ſome to the general's tent, and ſome out of the trenches to ſeek him among the firſt of the ſlain. A profound melancholy reigned in the camp, while the field reſounded with the cries of thoſe that called upon Scipio. For, ſo admirably had nature tempered him, that he was very early marked out by the world, as a perſon beyond the reſt of the youth, likely to excel in the arts both of war and of civil government.

It was now very late, and he was almoſt given up, when he returned from the purſuit, with two or three friends, covered with the freſh blood of the foe, like a generous young hound, carried too far by the charms of the chaſe. This is that Scipio who afterwards deſtroyed Carthage and Numantia, and was incomparably the firſt, both in virtue and power, of the Romans of his time. Thus fortune did not chooſe at preſent to make Æmilius pay for the favor ſhe did him, but deferred it to another opportunity; and therefore he enjoyed this victory with full ſatisfaction.

As for Perſeus, he fled from Pydna to Pella, with his cavalry which had ſuffered no loſs. When the foot over-

* The laurel was ſacred to Apollo, and the ivy to Bacchus. Bacchus, who is ſometimes ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Hercules, was a warrior, and we read of his expedition into India. But the Roman cuſtom of adorning the tents of the victors with ivy, the plant of Bacchus, might ariſe from a more ſimple cauſe; Cæſar, in his third book of the Civil Wars, ſays, that in Pompey's camp he found the tent of Lentulus and ſome others covered with ivy; ſo ſure had they made themſelves of the victory.

† He was then in his ſeventeenth year.

took them, they reproached them as cowards and traitors, pulled them off their horſes, and wounded ſeveral of them; ſo that the king dreading the conſequences of the tumult, turned his horſe out of the common road, and, leſt he ſhould be known, wrapt up his purple robe, and put it before him; he alſo took off his diadem, and carried it in his hand, and that he might converſe the more conveniently with his friends, alighted from his horſe and led him. But they all ſtunk away from him by degrees; one under pretence of tying his ſhoe, another of watering his horſe, and a third of being thirſty himſelf; not that they were ſo much afraid of the enemy, as of the cruelty of Perſeus, who, exaſperated with his misfortunes, ſought to lay the blame of his miſcarriage on any body but himſelf. He entered Pella in the night, where he killed with his poniard Euctus and Eudæus, two of his treaſurers; who, when they waited upon him had found fault with ſome of his proceedings, and provoked him by an unſeaſonable liberty of admonition. Hereupon, every body forſook him, except Evander the Cretan, Archedamus the Ætolian, and Neon the Bœotian: Nor did any of his ſoldiers follow him, but the Cretans, who were not attached to his perſon, but to his money, as bees are to the honeycomb. For he carried great treaſure along with him, and ſuffered them to take out of it cups and bowls, and other veſſels of gold and ſilver,* to the value of fifty talents. But when he came to Amphipolis, and from thence to Alepſus,† his fears a little abating, he ſunk again into his old and inborn diſtemper of avarice; he lamented to his friends, that he had inadvertently given up to the Cretans ſome of the gold plate of Alexander the Great, and he applied to thoſe that had it, and even begged of them with tears, to return it him for the value in money. Thoſe that knew him well eaſily diſcovered that he was *playing the Cretan with the Cretans*;‡ but ſuch as were prevailed upon to give up the plate, loſt all, for he never paid the money. Thus he got thirty talents from his friends, which ſoon after were to come into the hands of his

* He was afraid to give it them, leſt the Macedonians out of ſpite ſhould take all the reſt.

† A manuſcript copy has it Galepſus, probably upon the authority of Livy.

‡ It was an ancient proverb, *The Cretans are always liars.* St. Paul has quoted it from Callimachus.

enemies, and with theſe he ſailed to Samothrace, where he took refuge at the altar of Caſtor and Pollux.*

The Macedonians have always had the character of being lovers of their kings;† but now, as if the chief bulwark of their conſtitution was broken down, and all were fallen with it, they ſubmitted to Æmilius, and in two days he was maſter of all Macedonia. This ſeems to give ſome countenance to thoſe who impute theſe events to fortune. A prodigy which happened at Amphipolis teſtified alſo the favor of the gods. The conſul was offering ſacrifice there, and the ſacred ceremonies were begun, when a flaſh of lightning fell upon the altar, and at once conſumed and conſecrated the victim. But the ſhare which fame had in this affair exceeds both that prodigy and what they tell us of his good fortune. For, on the fourth day after Perſeus was beaten at Pydna, as the people were at the equeſtrian games in Rome, a report was ſuddenly ſpread in the firſt ſeats of the theatre, that Æmilius had gained a great battle over Perſeus, and overturned the kingdom of Macedon. The news was made public in a moment, the multitude clapped their hands and ſet up great acclamations, and it paſſed current that day in the city. Afterwards, when it appeared that it had no good foundation, the ſtory dropt for the preſent; but when a few days after it was confirmed beyond diſpute,‡ they could not but admire at the report which was its harbinger, and the fiction which turned to truth.

In like manner it is ſaid that an account of the battle of the Italians near the river Sagra, was carried into Peloponn-

* He carried with him two thouſand talents.

† When Perſeus was at Amphipolis, being afraid that the inhabitants would take him and deliver him up to the Romans, he came out with Philip, the only child he had with him, and having mounted the tribunal, began to ſpeak; but his tears flowed ſo faſt, that, after ſeveral trials, he found it impracticable to proceed. Deſcending again from the tribunal, he ſpoke to Evander, who then went up to ſupply his place, and began to ſpeak; but the people, who hated him, refuſed to hear him, crying out, "Begone, begone; we "are reſolved not to expoſe ourſelves, our wives, and our children, "for your ſakes. Fly therefore, and leave us to make the beſt terms "we can with the conquerors." Evander had been the principal actor in the aſſaſſination of Eumenes, and was afterwards deſpatched in Samothrace by order of Perſeus, who was afraid that Evander would accuſe him as the author of that murder.

‡ It was confirmed by the arrival of Q. Fabius Maximus, the ſon of Æmilius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, who had been ſent expreſs by Æmilius, and reached Rome the twentieth day after the action.

neſus the ſame day it was fought; and of the defeat of the Perſians at Mycale, with equal expedition, to Platæa; and that very ſoon after the battle which the Romans gained of the Tarquins and the people of Latium, that fought under their banners, two young men of uncommon ſize and beauty, who were conjectured to be Caſtor and Pollux, arrived at Rome, from the army, with the news of it. The firſt man they met with, by the fountain in the market place, as they were refreſhing their horſes, that foamed with ſweat, expreſſed his ſurpriſe at their account of the victory; whereupon they are ſaid to have ſmiled, and to have ſtroked his beard, which immediately turned from black to yellow. This circumſtance gained credit to his report, and got him the ſurname of *Ænobarbus*, or *yellow beard*.

All theſe ſtories are confirmed by that which happened in our times. For when Lucius Antonius rebelled againſt Domitian, Rome was much alarmed, and expected a bloody war in Germany, but on a ſudden, and of their own proper motion, the people raiſed a report, and ſpread it over the city, that Antonius was vanquiſhed and ſlain, that his army was cut in pieces, and not one man had eſcaped. Such a run had the news, and ſuch was the credit given to it, that many of the magiſtrates offered ſacrifice on the occaſion. But when the author of it was ſought after, they were referred from one to another, all their inquiries were eluded, and at laſt the news was loſt in the immenſe crowd, as in a vaſt ocean. Thus the report, appearing to have no ſolid foundation, immediately vaniſhed. But as Domitian was marching his forces to chaſtiſe the rebels, meſſengers and letters met him on the road which brought an account of the victory. Then they found that it was won the ſame day the report was propagated, though the field of battle was more than twenty thouſand furlongs from Rome.—This is a fact which none can be unacquainted with.

But to return to the ſtory of Perſeus: Cneius Octavius, who was joined in command with Æmilius, came with his fleet to Samothrace, where out of reverence to the gods,*

* The gods of Samothrace were dreaded by all nations. The pagans carried their prejudices ſo far in favor of thoſe pretended deities, that they were ſtruck with awe upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths that were in uſe among the ancients, that by theſe gods was deemed the moſt ſacred and inviolable. Such as were found not to have obſerved this oath were looked upon as the curſe of mankind, and perſons devoted to deſtruction. Diodorus (lib. v.)

he permitted Perſeus to enjoy the protection of the aſylum, but watched the coaſts and guarded againſt his eſcape.—Perſeus, however, found means privately to engage one Oroandes a Cretan, to take him and his treaſure into his veſſel, and carry them off. He, like a true Cretan, took in the treaſure, and adviſed Perſeus to come in the night, with his wife and children, and neceſſary attendants, to the port called Demetrium; but, before this, he had ſet ſail. Miſerable was the condition of Perſeus, compelled as he was to eſcape through a narrow window, and to let himſelf down by the wall, with his wife and children, who had little experienced ſuch fatigue and hardſhip; but ſtill more pitiable were his groans, when, as he wandered by the ſhore, one told him, that he had ſeen Oroandes a good way off at ſea. By this time it was day, and, deſtitute of all other hope, he fled back to the wall. He was not, indeed, undiſcovered, yet he reached the place of refuge, with his wife, before the Romans could take meaſures to prevent it. His children he put in the hands of Ion, who had been his favorite, but now was his betrayer; for he delivered them up to the Romans; and ſo by the ſtrongeſt neceſſity with which nature can be bound, obliged him, as beaſts do, when their young are taken, to yield himſelf to thoſe who had his children in their power.

He had the greateſt confidence in Naſica, and for him he inquired; but as he was not there, he bewailed his fate, and ſenſible of the neceſſity he lay under, he ſurrendered himſelf to Octavius. Then it appeared more plain than ever, that he labored under a more deſpicable diſeaſe than avarice itſelf—I mean the fear of death; and this deprived him even of pity, the only conſolation of which fortune does not rob the diſtreſſed. For when he deſired to be conducted to Æmilius,* the conſul roſe from his ſeat, and

tells us that theſe gods were always preſent and never failed to aſſiſt thoſe that were initiated, and called upon them in any ſudden and unexpected danger; and that none ever duly performed their ceremonies without being amply rewarded for their piety. No wonder, then, if the places of refuge in this iſland were very highly revered. Beſides the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, to which Perſeus fled, there was alſo a wood, eſteemed ſuch, where thoſe who were admitted to the holy rites of the *Cabiri*, uſed to meet.

* Octavius, as ſoon as he had the king in his power, put him on board the admiral galley, and having embarked alſo all his treaſure that was left, the Roman fleet weighed and ſtood for Amphipolis. An

accompanied with his friends, went to receive him with tears in his eyes, as a great man unhappily fallen through the diſpleaſure of the gods. But Perſeus behaved in the vileſt manner; he bowed down with his face to the earth, he embraced the Roman's knees; his expreſſions were ſo mean, and his entreaties ſo abject, that Æmilius could not endure them; but regarding him with an eye of regret and indignation, "Why doſt thou, wretched man!" ſaid he, "acquit fortune of what might ſeem her greateſt "crime, by a behavior which makes it appear that thou "deſerveſt her frowns, and that thou art not only now, "but haſt been long unworthy the protection of that god-"deſs? Why doſt thou tarniſh my laurels, and detract "from my achievements, by ſhowing thyſelf a mean ad-"verſary, and unfit to cope with a Roman? Courage in "the unfortunate is highly revered, even by an enemy; "and cowardice, though it meets with ſucceſs, is held "in great contempt among the Romans."

Notwithſtanding this ſevere rebuke, he raiſed him up, gave him his hand, and delivered him into the cuſtody of Tubero. Then taking his ſons, his ſons in law, and the principal officers, particularly the younger ſort, back with him into his tent, he ſat a long time ſilent, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole company. At laſt, he began to ſpeak of the viciſſitudes of fortune, and of human affairs. "Is "it fit then," ſaid he, "that a mortal ſhould be elated by "proſperity, and plume himſelf upon the overturning a "city, or a kingdom? Should we not rather attend to the "inſtructions of fortune, who, by ſuch viſible marks of "her inſtability, and of the weakneſs of human power, "teaches every one that goes to war, to expect from her "nothing ſolid and permanent? What time for confidence "can there be to man, when in the very inſtant of victory "he muſt neceſſarily dread the power of fortune, and the "very joy of ſucceſs muſt be mingled with anxiety, from "a reflection on the courſe of unſparing fate, which hum-"bles one man today, and tomorrow another? When

expreſs was diſpatched from thence to acquaint Æmilius with what had happened, who ſent Tubero his ſon in law with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to meet Perſeus. The conſul ordered ſacrifices to be immediately offered, and made the ſame rejoicings as if a new victory had been obtained. The whole camp ran out to ſee the royal priſoner, who, covered with a mourning cloak, walked alone to the tent of Æmilius.

"one ſhort hour has been ſufficient to overthrow the houſe "of Alexander, who arrived at ſuch a pitch of glory, and "extended his empire over great part of the world; when "you ſee princes that were lately at the head of immenſe "armies, receive their proviſions for the day, from the "hands of their enemies; ſhall you dare to flatter your-"ſelves, that fortune has firmly ſettled your proſperity, "or that it is a proof againſt the attacks of time? Shall "you not rather, my young friends, quit this elation of "heart, and the vain raptures of victory, and humble "yourſelves in the thought of what may happen hereaf-"ter, in the expectation that the gods will ſend ſome "misfortune, to counterbalance the preſent ſucceſs?" Æmilius, they tell us, having ſaid a great deal to this purpoſe, diſmiſſed the young men, ſeaſonably chaſtiſed with this grave diſcourſe, and reſtrained in their natural inclination to arrogance.

When this was done, he put his army in quarters, while he went to take a view of Greece. This progreſs was attended both with honor to himſelf, and advantage to the Greeks; for he redreſſed the people's grievances, he reformed their civil government, and gave them gratuities, to ſome wheat, and to others oil, out of the royal ſtores; in which ſuch vaſt quantities are ſaid to have been found, that the number of thoſe that aſked and received, was too ſmall to exhauſt the whole. Finding a great ſquare pedeſtal of white marble at Delphi, deſigned for a golden ſtatue of Perſeus, he ordered his own to be put upon it;* alleging, that it was but juſt, that the conquered ſhould give place to the conqueror. At Olympia, we are told, he uttered that celebrated ſaying, "This Jupi-"ter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer."

Upon the arrival of the ten commiſſioners† from Rome for ſettling the affairs of Macedonia, he declared the lands and cities of the Macedonians free, and ordered that they

* This was not quite ſo conſiſtent with his humiliating diſcourſe on the viciſſitudes of fortune.

† Theſe ten legates were all men of conſular dignity, who came to aſſiſt Æmilius in ſettling a new form of government. The Macedonians were not much charmed with the promiſe of liberty, becauſe they could not well comprehend what that liberty was. They ſaw evident contradictions in the decree, which, though it ſpoke of leaving them under their own laws, impoſed many new ones, and threatened more. What moſt diſturbed them, was a diviſion of their kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were ſeparated and diſ*jointed from* each other.

ſhould be governed by their own laws; only reſerving a tribute to the Romans of a hundred talents, which was not half what their kings had impoſed.

After this, he exhibited various games and ſpectacles, offered ſacrifices to the gods, and made great entertainments; for all which he found an abundant ſupply in the treaſures of the king. And he ſhowed ſo juſt a diſcernment in the ordering, the placing, and ſaluting of his gueſts, and in diſtinguiſhing what degree of civility was due to every man's rank and quality, that the Greeks were amazed at his knowledge of matters of mere politeneſs, and that, amidſt his great actions, even trifles did not eſcape his attention, but were conducted with the greateſt decorum. That which afforded him the higheſt ſatisfaction was, that, notwithſtanding the magnificence and variety of his preparations, he himſelf gave the greateſt pleaſure to thoſe he entertained. And to thoſe that expreſſed their admiration of his management on theſe occaſions, he ſaid, "That it required the "ſame genius to draw up an army, and to order an enter-"tainment;* that the one might be moſt formidable to the "enemy, and the other moſt agreeable to the company."

Among his other good qualities, his diſintereſtedneſs and magnanimity ſtood foremoſt in the eſteem of the world. For he would not ſo much as look upon the immenſe quantity of ſilver and gold that was collected out of the royal palaces, but delivered it to the *quæſtors*, to be carried into the public treaſury. He reſerved only the books of the king's library for his ſons, who were men of letters; and in diſtributing rewards to thoſe that had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the battle, he gave a ſilver cup of five pounds weight to his ſon in law, Ælius Tubero. This is that Tubero who, as we have already mentioned, was one of the ſixteen relations that lived together, and were all ſupported by one ſmall farm; and this piece of plate acquired by virtue and honor, is affirmed to be the firſt that was in the family of the Ælians; neither they nor their wives having, before this, either uſed or wanted any veſſels of ſilver or gold.

After he had made every proper regulation,† taken his leave of the Greeks, and exhorted the Macedonians to re-

* To theſe two particulars, of drawing up an army, and ordering an entertainment, Henry IV, of France added the making love.

† At the cloſe of theſe proceedings, Andronicus the Ætolian and Neo the Bœotian, becauſe they had always been friends to Perſeus, and had not deſerted him even now, were condemned, and loſt their heads. So unjuſt amidſt all the *ſpecious* appearances of juſtice were the conquerors.

member the liberty which the Romans had beſtowed on them,* and to preſerve it by good laws and the happieſt harmony, he marched into Epirus. The ſenate had made a decree, that the ſoldiers who had fought under him againſt Perſeus ſhould have the ſpoil of the cities of Epirus. In order, therefore, that they might fall upon them unexpectedly, he ſent for ten of the principal inhabitants of each city, and fixed a day for them to bring in whatever ſilver and gold could be found in their houſes and temples. With each of theſe he ſent a centurion and guard of ſoldiers, under pretence of ſearching for and receiving the precious metal, and as for this purpoſe only. But when the day came, they ruſhed upon all the inhabitants, and began to ſeize and plunder them. Thus in one hour an hundred and fifty thouſand perſons were made ſlaves, and ſeventy cities ſacked. Yet from this general ruin and deſolation, each ſoldier had no more than eleven drachmas to his ſhare. How ſhocking was ſuch a deſtruction for the ſake of ſuch advantage!

Æmilius, having executed this commiſſion, ſo contrary to his mildneſs and humanity, went down to Oricum, where he embarked his forces, and paſſed over into Italy. He ſailed up the Tyber in the king's galley, which had ſixteen ranks of oars, and was richly adorned with arms taken from the enemy, and with cloth of ſcarlet and purple; and the banks of the river being covered with multitudes that came to ſee the ſhip as it ſailed ſlowly againſt the ſtream, the Romans in ſome meaſure anticipated his triumph.

But the ſoldiers, who looked with longing eyes on the wealth of Perſeus, when they found their expectations diſappointed, indulged a ſecret reſentment, and were ill-affected to Æmilius. In public they alleged another cauſe. They ſaid he had behaved in command in a ſevere and imperious manner, and therefore they did not meet his wiſhes for a triumph. Servius Galba, who had ſerved under Æmilius, as a [illegible]une, and who had a perſonal enmity to

* This boaſted favor of the Romans to the people of Macedon, was certainly nothing extraordinary. Their country being now divided into four diſtricts, it was declared unlawful for any perſon to intermarry, to carry on any trade, to buy or ſell any lands to any one who was not an inhabitant of his own diſtrict. They were prohibited to import any ſalt; or to ſell any timber fit for building ſhips to the barbarian nations. All the nobility, and their children, exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to tranſport themſelves into Italy; and the ſupreme power in Macedon was veſted in certain Roman ſenators.

him, obſerving this, pulled off the maſk, and declared that no triumph ought to be allowed him. Having ſpread among the ſoldiery ſeveral calumnies againſt the general, and ſharpened the reſentment which they had already conceived, Galba requeſted another day of the tribunes of the people; becauſe the remaining four hours, he ſaid, were not ſufficient for the intended impeachment. But as the tribunes ordered him to ſpeak then, if he had any thing to ſay, he began a long harangue full of injurious and falſe allegations, and ſpun it out to the end of the day. When it was dark, the tribunes diſmiſſed the aſſembly. The ſoldiers, now more inſolent than ever, thronged about Galba; and animating each other, before it was light took their ſtand again in the capitol, where the tribunes had ordered the aſſembly to be held.

As ſoon as day appeared, it was put to the vote, and the firſt tribe gave it againſt the triumph. When this was underſtood by the reſt of the aſſembly and the ſenate, the commonalty expreſſed great concern at the injury done to Æmilius, but their words had no effect; the principal ſenators inſiſted that it was an inſufferable attempt, and encouraged each other to repreſs the bold and licentious ſpirit of the ſoldiers, who would in time ſtick at no inſtance of injuſtice and violence,* if ſomething was not done to prevent their depriving Paulus Æmilius of the honors of his victory. They puſhed, therefore, through the crowd, and coming upin a body, demanded that the tribunes would put a ſtop to the ſuffrages, until they had delivered what they had to ſay to the people. The poll being ſtopped accordingly, and ſilence made, Marcus Servilius, a man of conſular dignity, who had killed three and twenty enemies in ſingle combat, ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:

"I am now ſenſible, more than ever, how great a general "Paulus Æmilius is, when with ſo mutinous and diſorderly "an army he has performed ſuch great and honorable "achievements; but I am ſurpriſed at the inconſiſtency "of the Roman people, if, after rejoicing in triumphs "over the Illyrians and Ligurians,† they envy themſelves "the pleaſure of ſeeing the king of Macedon brought alive, "and all the glory of Alexander and Philip led captive by

* This was ſadly verified in the times of the Roman emperors.

† Inſtead of Λιβυων *Lybians*, the common reading in the Greek, we ſhould undoubtedly, with the ſmall alteration of one letter, read Λιγυων *Ligurians*. For the Ligurians had been conquered by Æmilius.

"the Roman arms. For is it not a ſtrange thing for you, "who, upon a ſlight rumor of the victory brought hither "ſome time ſince, offered ſacrifices, and made your requeſts "to the gods, that you might ſoon ſee that account verifi- "ed; now the conſul is returned with a real victory, to rob "the gods of their due honor, and yourſelves of the ſatis- "faction, as if you were afraid to behold the greatneſs of "the conqueſt, or were willing to ſpare the king? Though "indeed, it would be much better to refuſe the triumph "out of mercy to him, than envy to your general. But to "ſuch exceſs is your malignity arrived, that a man who "never received a wound, a man ſhining in delicacy and "fattened in the ſhade, dares diſcourſe about the conduct "of the war and the right to a triumph, to you who at the "expenſe of ſo much blood have learned how to judge of "the valor or miſbehavior of your commanders."

At the ſame time, baring his breaſt, he ſhowed an incredible number of ſcars upon it, and then turning his back, he uncovered ſome parts which it is reckoned indecent to expoſe; and addreſſing himſelf to Galba, he ſaid, "Thou laugheſt at this; but I glory in theſe marks be- "fore my fellow citizens; for I got them by being on "horſeback day and night in their ſervice. But go on to "collect the votes: I will attend the whole buſineſs, and "mark thoſe cowardly and ungrateful men, who had rath- "er have their own inclinations indulged in war, than be "properly commanded." This ſpeech, they tell us, ſo humbled the ſoldiery, and effected ſuch an alteration in them, that the triumph was voted to Æmilius by every tribe.

The triumph is ſaid to have been ordered after this manner: In every theatre, or as they call it, *Circus*, where equeſtrian games uſed to be held, in the *forum*, and other parts of the city, which were convenient for ſeeing the proceſſion, the people erected ſcaffolds, and on the day of the triumph were all dreſſed in white. The temples were ſet open, adorned with garlands, and ſmoaking with incenſe. Many *lictors* and other officers compelled the diſorderly crowd to make way, and opened a clear paſſage. The triumph took up three days. On the firſt, which was ſcarce ſufficient for the ſhow, were exhibited the images, paintings, and coloſſal ſtatues, taken from the enemy, and now carried in two hundred and fifty chariots. Next day, the richeſt and moſt beautiful of the Macedonian arms were brought up in a great number of waggons. Theſe glittered

with new furbiſhed braſs and poliſhed ſteel; and, though they were piled with great art and judgment, yet ſeemed to be thrown together promiſcuouſly; helmets being placed upon ſhields, breaſt plates upon greaves, Cretan targets, Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows huddled among the horſes bits, with the points of naked ſwords and long pikes appearing through on every ſide. All theſe arms were tied together with ſuch a juſt liberty, that room was left for them to clatter as they were drawn along, and the clank of them was ſo harſh and terrible, that they were not ſeen without dread, though among the ſpoils of the conquered. After the carriages loaded with arms, walked three thouſand men, who carried the ſilver money in ſeven hundred and fifty veſſels, each of which contained three talents and was borne by four men. Others brought bowls, horns, goblets, and cups, all of ſilver, diſpoſed in ſuch order as would make the beſt ſhow, and valuable not only for their ſize but the depth of the baſſo relievo. On the third day, early in the morning, firſt came up the trumpets, not with ſuch airs as are uſed in a proceſſion of ſolemn entry, but with ſuch as the Romans ſound when they animate their troops to the charge. Theſe were followed by an hundred and twenty fat oxen, with their horns gilded, and ſet off with ribbons and garlands. The young men that led theſe victims, were girded with belts of curious workmanſhip; and after them came the boys who carried the gold and ſilver veſſels for the ſacrifice. Next went the perſons who carried the gold coin* in veſſels which held three talents each, like thoſe that contained the ſilver, and which were to the number of ſeventyſeven. Then followed thoſe that bore the conſecrated bowl,† of ten talents weight, which Æmilius had cauſed to be made of gold, and adorned with precious ſtones; and thoſe that expoſed to view the cups of Antigonus of Seleucus, and ſuch as were of the make of the famed artiſt, Shericles, together with the gold plate that had been uſed at Perſeus's table.

* According to Plutarch's account there were 2250 talents of ſilver coin, and 231 of gold coin. According to Valerius Antias it amounted to ſomewhat more; but Livy thinks his computation too ſmall, and Velleius Paterculus makes it almoſt twice as much. The account which Paterculus gives of it is probably right, ſince the money now brought from Macedonia ſet the Romans free from all taxes for one hundred and twentyfive years.

† This bowl weighed ſix hundred pounds; for the talent weighed ſixty pounds. It was conſecrated to Jupiter.

Immediately after, was to be ſeen the chariot of that prince, with his armor upon it and his diadem upon that, at a little diſtance his children were led captive, attended by a great number of governors, maſters, and preceptors, all in tears, who ſtretched out their hands by way of ſupplication to the ſpectators, and taught the children to do the ſame. There were two ſons and one daughter, all ſo young, that they were not much affected with the greatneſs of their misfortunes. This inſenſibility of theirs made the change of their condition more pitiable; inſomuch that Perſeus paſſed on almoſt without notice; ſo fixed were the eyes of the Romans upon the children from pity of their fate, that many of them ſhed tears, and none taſted the joy of the triumph without a mixture of pain, till they were gone by. Behind the children and their train walked Perſeus himſelf, clad all in black, and wearing ſandals of the faſhion of his country. He had the appearance of a man that was overwhelmed with terror, and whoſe reaſon was almoſt ſtaggered with the weight of his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of friends and favorites, whoſe countenances were oppreſſed with ſorrow, and who, by fixing their weeping eyes continually upon their prince, teſtified to the ſpectators, that it was his lot which they lamented, and that they were regardleſs of their own. He had ſent, indeed to Æmilius, to deſire that he might be excuſed from being led in triumph, and being made a public ſpectacle. But Æmilius deſpiſing his cowardice and attachment to life, by way of deriſion, it ſeems, ſent him word, "That "it had been in his power to prevent it, and ſtill was, if "he were ſo diſpoſed;" hinting, that he ſhould prefer death to diſgrace. But he had not the courage to ſtrike the blow, and the vigor of his mind being deſtroyed by vain hopes, he became a part of his own ſpoils. Next were carried four hundred coronets of gold, which the cities had ſent Æmilius, along with their embaſſies, as compliments on his victory. Then came the conſul himſelf, riding in a magnificent chariot; a man, excluſive of the pomp of power, worthy to be ſeen and admired, but his good mien was now ſet off with a purple robe interwoven with gold; and he held a branch of laurel in his right hand. The whole army likewiſe carried boughs of laurel, and divided into bands and companies, followed the general's chariot; ſome ſinging ſatirical ſongs uſual on ſuch occaſions, and ſome chanting odes of victory, and the glorious exploits of

Æmilius, who was revered and admired by all, and whom no good man could envy.

But, perhaps there is ſome ſuperior Being, whoſe office it is to caſt a ſhade upon any great and eminent proſperity, and ſo to mingle the lot of human life, that it may not be perfectly free from calamity, but thoſe, as Homer ſays,* may think themſelves moſt happy to whom fortune gives an equal ſhare of good and evil. For Æmilius having four ſons, two of which, namely Scipio and Fabius, were adopted into other families, as has been mentioned above, and two others by his ſecond wife, as yet but young, whom he brought up in his own houſe; one of theſe died at fourteen years of age, five days before his father's triumph, and the other at twelve, three days after. There was not a man among the Romans that did not ſympathize with him in this affliction. All were ſhocked at the cruelty of fortune,† who ſcrupled not to introduce ſuch deep diſtreſs into a houſe that was full of pleaſure, of joy, and feſtal ſacrifices, and to mix the ſongs of victory and triumph with the mournful dirges of death.

* Plutarch here refers to a paſſage in the ſpeech of Achilles to Priam in the laſt Iliad, which is thus tranſlated by Pope:

Two urns by Jove's high throne have ever ſtood,
The ſource of evil one, and one of good.
From thence the cup of mortal man he fills,
Bleſſings to theſe, to thoſe diſtributes ills;
To moſt, he mingles both; the wretch decreed
To taſte the bad, unmix'd, is curs'd indeed.
The happieſt taſte not happineſs ſincere,
But find the cordial draught is daſh'd with care.

Plato has cenſured it as an impiety to ſay that God gives evil. God is not the author of evil. Moral evil is the reſult of the abuſe of free agency; natural evil is the conſequence of the imperfection of matter; and the Deity ſtands juſtified in his creating beings liable to both, becauſe natural imperfection was neceſſary to a progreſſive exiſtence, moral imperfection was neceſſary to virtue, and virtue was neceſſary to happineſs. However, Homer's allegory ſeems borrowed from the eaſtern manner of ſpeaking. Thus in the Pſalms: *In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and he poureth out of the ſame; as for the dregs thereof all the ungodly of the earth ſhall drink them.* Pſal. lxxv. 8.

† Or more properly the juſt and viſible interpoſition of Providence, to puniſh in ſome meaſure that general havock of the human ſpecies which the Roman pride and avarice had ſo recently made in Greece. For though God is not the author of evil, it is no impeachment of his goodneſs to ſuppoſe that by particular puniſhments he chaſtiſes particular crimes.

Æmilius, however, rightly conſidering that mankind have need of courage and fortitude, not only againſt ſwords and ſpears, but againſt every attack of fortune, ſo tempered and qualified the preſent emergencies, as to overbalance the evil by the good, and his private misfortunes by the public proſperity; that nothing might appear to leſſen the importance, or tarniſh the glory of his victory. For ſoon after the burial of the firſt of his ſons, he made, as we ſaid, his triumphal entry, and upon the death of the ſecond, ſoon after the triumph, he aſſembled the people of Rome, and made a ſpeech to them, not like a man that wanted conſolation himſelf, but like one who could alleviate the grief which his fellow citizens felt for his misfortunes.

"Though I have never," ſaid he, "feared any thing "human, yet among things divine, I have always had a "dread of fortune, as the moſt faithleſs and variable of "beings; and becauſe in the courſe of this war ſhe proſ- "pered every meaſure of mine, the rather did I expect that "ſome tempeſt would follow ſo favorable a gale. For in "one day I paſſed the Ionian from Brunduſium to Corcy- "ra; from thence in five days I reached Delphi, and ſa- "crificed to Apollo. In five days more I took upon me the "command of the army in Macedonia; and as ſoon as I "had offered the uſual ſacrifices for purifying it, I pro- "ceeded to action, and in the ſpace of fifteen days from "that time put a glorious period to the war. Diſtruſting "the fickle goddeſs on account of ſuch a run of ſucceſs, "and now being ſecure and free from all danger with re- "ſpect to the enemy, I was moſt apprehenſive of a change "of fortune in my paſſage home; having ſuch a great and "victorious army to conduct, together with the ſpoils and "royal priſoners. Nay, when I arrived ſafe among my "countrymen and beheld the city full of joy, feſtivity, and "gratitude, ſtill I ſuſpected fortune knowing that ſhe "grants us no great favor without ſome mixture of "uneaſineſs or tribute of pain. Thus full of anxious "thoughts for what might happen to the commonwealth, "my fears did not quit me, till this calamity viſited my "houſe, and I had my two promiſing ſons, the only heirs "I had left myſelf, to bury one after the other, on the "very days ſacred to triumph. Now therefore I am ſecure "as to the greateſt danger, and I truſt and am fully per- "ſuaded that fortune will continue kind and conſtant to "us, ſince ſhe has taken ſufficient uſury for her favors, of-

"me and mine; for the man who led the triumph is as "great an inſtance of the weakneſs of human power as he "that was led captive; there is only this difference, that "the ſons of Perſeus, who were vanquiſhed, are alive, and "thoſe of Æmilius, who conquered, are no more."

Such was the generous ſpeech which Æmilius made to the people, from a ſpirit of magnanimity that was perfectly free from artifice.

Though he pitied the fate of Perſeus, and was well inclined to ſerve him, yet all he could do for him, was to get him removed from the common priſon to a cleaner apartment and better diet. In that confinement, according to moſt writers, he ſtarved himſelf to death. But ſome ſay the manner of his death was very ſtrange and peculiar. The ſoldiers, they tell us, who were his keepers, being on ſome account provoked at him, and determined to wreak their malice, when they could find no other means of doing it, kept him from ſleep, taking turns to watch him, and uſing ſuch extreme diligence to keep him from reſt, that at laſt he was quite wearied out and died.* Two of his ſons alſo died; and the third, named Alexander, is ſaid to have been diſtinguiſhed for his art in turning and other ſmall work; and having perfectly learned to ſpeak and write the Roman language, he was employed by the magiſtrates as a clerk,† in which capacity he ſhowed himſelf very ſerviceable and ingenious.

Of the acts of Æmilius with regard to Macedonia, the moſt acceptable to the Romans was, that from thence he brought ſo much money into the public treaſury, that the people had no occaſion to pay any taxes till the times of Hirtius and Panſa, who were conſuls in the firſt war between Antony and Cæſar. Æmilius had alſo the uncommon and peculiar happineſs, to be highly honored and careſſed by the people, at the ſame time that he remained attached to the patrician party, and did nothing to ingratiate himſelf with the commonalty, but ever acted in concert with men of the firſt rank, in matters of government.

* This account we have from Diodorus Siculus, *ap. Phot. Biblioth.* Philip is ſaid to have died before his father, but how or where cannot be collected, becauſe the books of Livy, and of Diodorus Siculus, which treat of thoſe times are loſt.

† Here was a remarkable inſtance of the pride of the Roman ſenate, to have the ſon of a vanquiſhed king for their clerk: While Nicomedes, the ſon of Pruſias king of Bithynia, was educated by them with all imaginable pomp and ſplendor, becauſe the father had put him under the care of the republic.

This conduct of his was afterwards alleged by way of reproach againſt Scipio Africanus, by Appius. Theſe two being then the moſt conſiderable men in Rome, ſtood for the cenſorſhip; the one having the ſenate and nobility on his ſide, for the Appian family were always in that intereſt, and the other not only great in himſelf, but ever greatly in favor with the people. When, therefore, Appius ſaw Scipio come into the *forum* attended by a crowd of mean perſons, and many who had been ſlaves, but who were able to cabal, to influence the multitude, and to carry all before them, either by ſolicitation or clamor, he cried out, "O Paulus Æmilius! groan, groan from beneath the "earth, to think that Æmilius the crier and Lycinius the "rioter conduct thy ſon to the cenſorſhip!" It is no wonder if the cauſe of Scipio was eſpouſed by the people, ſince he was continually heaping favors upon them. But Æmilius, though he ranged himſelf on the ſide of the nobility, was as much beloved by the populace as the moſt inſinuating of their demagogues. This appeared in their beſtowing upon him, among other honors, that of the cenſorſhip, which is the moſt ſacred of all offices, and which has great authority annexed to it, as in other reſpects, ſo particularly in the power of inquiring into the morals of the citizens. For the cenſors could expel from the ſenate any member that acted in a manner unworthy of his ſtation, and enrol a man of character in that body; and they could diſgrace one of the equeſtrian order who behaved licentiouſly, by taking away his horſe. They alſo took account of the value of each man's eſtate, and regiſtered the number of people. The number of citizens which Æmilius took, was three hundred and thirtyſeven thouſand four hundred and fiftytwo. He declared Marcus Æmilius Lepidus firſt ſenator, who had already four times arrived at that dignity. He expelled only three ſenators who were men of no note; and with equal moderation both he and his colleague Marcius Philippus behaved in examining into the conduct of the knights.

Having ſettled many important affairs while he bore this office, he fell into a diſtemper, which at firſt appeared very dangerous, but in time became leſs threatening, though it ſtill was troubleſome and difficult to be cured. By the advice therefore of his phyſicians, he ſailed to Velia,* where

* Plutarch here writes Elea inſtead of Velia, and calls it a town in Italy, to diſtinguiſh it from one of that name in Greece.

he remained a long time near the ſea, in a very retired and quiet ſituation. In the mean time, the Romans greatly regretted his abſence, and by frequent exclamations in the theatres, teſtified their extreme deſire to ſee him again. At laſt, a public ſacrifice coming on, which neceſſarily required his attendance, Æmilius ſeeming now ſufficiently recovered returned to Rome, and offered that ſacrifice, with the aſſiſtance of the other prieſts, amidſt a prodigious multitude of people, who expreſſed their joy for his return. Next day he ſacrificed again to the gods for his recovery. Having finiſhed theſe rites, he returned home and went to bed; when he ſuddenly fell into a delirium, in which he died the third day, having attained to every thing that is ſuppoſed to contribute to the happineſs of man.

His funeral was conducted with wonderful ſolemnity; the cordial regard of the public did honor to his virtue, by the beſt and happieſt obſequies. Theſe did not conſiſt in the pomp of gold, of ivory, or other expenſe and parade, but in eſteem, in love, in veneration, expreſſed not only by his countrymen, but by his very enemies. For as many of the Spaniards, Ligurians, and Macedonians,* as happened to be then at Rome, and were young and robuſt, aſſiſted in carrying his bier; while the aged followed it, calling Æmilius their benefactor, and the preſerver of their countries. For he not only, at the time he conquered them, gained the character of humanity, but continued to do them ſervices, and to take care of them, as if they had been his friends and relations.

The eſtate he left behind him ſcarcely amounted to the ſum of three hundred and ſeventy thouſand *denarii*, of which he appointed his ſons joint heirs; but Scipio, the younger ſon, who was adopted into the opulent houſe of Africanus, gave up his part to his brother. Such is the account we have of the life and character of Paulus Æmilius.†

* Theſe were ſome of the Macedonian nobility, who were then at Rome. Valerius Maximus ſays, it was like a ſecond triumph to Æmilius, to have theſe perſons aſſiſt in ſupporting his bier, which was adorned with repreſentations of his conqueſt of their country. In fact, it was more honorable than the triumph he had led up, becauſe this bore witneſs to his humanity, and the other only to his valor.

† A ſaying of his to his ſon Scipio, is worth mentioning; *a good general never gives battle, but when he is led to it, either by the laſt neceſſity, or by a very favorable occaſion.*

TIMOLEON AND PAULUS ÆMILIUS,

COMPARED.

IF we conſider theſe two great men as hiſtory has repreſented them, we ſhall find no ſtriking difference between them in the compariſon. Both carried on wars with very reſpectable enemies; the one with the Macedonians, the other with the Carthaginians; and both with extraordinary ſucceſs. One of them conquered Macedon, and cruſhed the houſe of Antigonus, which had flouriſhed in a ſucceſſion of ſeven kings; the other expelled tyranny out of Sicily, and reſtored that iſland to its ancient liberty. It may be in favor of Æmilius, that he had to do with Perſeus when in his full ſtrength, and when he had beaten the Romans, and Timoleon with Dionyſius, when reduced to very deſperate circumſtances; as, on the other hand, it may be obſerved to the advantage of Timoleon, that he ſubdued many tyrants, and defeated a great army of Carthaginians, with ſuch forces as he happened to pick up, who were not veteran and experienced troops like thoſe of Æmilius, but mercenaries and undiſciplined men, who had been accuſtomed to fight only at their own pleaſure. For equal exploits, with unequal means and preparations, reflect the greater glory on the general who performs them.

Both paid a ſtrict regard to juſtice and integrity in their employments. Æmilius was prepared from the firſt to behave ſo, by the laws and manners of his country; but Timoleon's probity was owing entirely to himſelf. A proof of this, is, that in the time of Æmilius, good order univerſally prevailed among the Romans, through a ſpirit of obedience to their laws and uſages, and a reverence of their fellow citizens; whereas, not one of the Grecian generals who commanded in Sicily, kept himſelf uncorrupted, except Dion; and many entertained a jealouſy that even he affected monarchy, and dreamt of ſetting up ſuch a regal authority as that in Lacedæmon. Timæus informs us, that the Syracuſans ſent away Gylippus loaded with infamy, for his inſatiable avarice and rapacity, while he had the command; and many writers give account of the miſdemeanors and breach of articles which Pharax the Spartan, and Callippus the Athenian, were guilty of

in hopes of gaining the ſovereignty of Sicily. But what were theſe men, and on what power did they build ſuch hopes? Pharax was a follower of Dionyſius, who was already expelled, and Callippus was an officer in the foreign troops in the ſervice of Dion. But Timoleon was ſent to be general of the Syracuſans, at their earneſt requeſt; he had not an army to provide, but found one ready formed, which cheerfully obeyed his orders; and yet he employed this power for no other end, than the deſtruction of their oppreſſive maſters.

Yet again, it was to be admired in Æmilius, that, though he ſubdued ſo opulent a kingdom, he did not add one *drachma* to his ſubſtance. He would not touch, nor even look upon the money himſelf, though he gave many liberal gifts to others. I do not, however, blame Timoleon for accepting of a handſome houſe and lands; for it is no diſgrace to take ſomething out of ſo much, but to take nothing at all, is better; and that is the moſt conſummate virtue, which ſhows that it is above pecuniary conſiderations, even when it has the beſt claim to them.

As ſome bodies are able to bear heat, and others cold, but thoſe are the ſtrongeſt which are equally fit to endure either; ſo the vigor and firmneſs of thoſe minds is the greateſt, which are neither elated by proſperity, nor broken by adverſity. And in this reſpect, Æmilius appears to have been ſuperior; for in the great and ſevere misfortune of the loſs of his ſons, he kept up the ſame dignity of carriage, as in the midſt of the happieſt ſucceſs. But Timoleon, when he had acted as a patriot ſhould, with regard to his brother, did not let his reaſon ſupport him againſt his grief; but becoming a prey to ſorrow and remorſe, for the ſpace of twenty years he could not ſo much as look upon the place where the public buſineſs was tranſacted, much leſs take a part in it. A man ſhould, indeed, be afraid and aſhamed of what is really ſhameful, but to ſhrink under every reflection upon his character, though it ſpeaks a delicacy of temper, has nothing in it of true greatneſs of mind.

PELOPIDAS.

CATO the elder, hearing ſomebody commend a man, who was raſhly and indiſcreetly daring in war, made this juſt obſervation, that *there was great difference between a due regard to valor, and a contempt of life.* To this purpoſe, there is a ſtory of one of the ſoldiers of Antigonus, who was aſtoniſhingly brave, but of an unhealthy complexion and bad habit of body. The king aſked him the cauſe of his paleneſs, and he acknowledged that he had a private infirmity. He therefore gave his phyſicians a ſtrict charge, that if any remedy could be found, they ſhould apply it with the utmoſt care. Thus the man was cured; but then he no longer courted, nor riſked his perſon as before. Antigonus queſtioned him about it, and could not forbear to expreſs his wonder at the change. The ſoldier did not conceal the real cauſe, "You, Sir," ſaid he, "have "made me leſs bold, by delivering me from that miſery, "which made my life of no account to me." From the ſame way of arguing it was, that a certain Sybarite* ſaid of the Spartans, "It was no wonder if they ventured their "lives freely in battle, ſince death was a deliverance to "them from ſuch a train of labors, and from ſuch wretch-"ed diet." It was natural for the Sybarites, who were diſſoved in luxury and pleaſure, to think that they who deſpiſed death, did it not from a love of virtue and honor, but becauſe they were weary of life. But in fact, the Lacedæmonians thought it a pleaſure either to live or to die, as virtue and right reaſon directed; and ſo this epitaph teſtifies,

> Nor life nor death, they deem'd the happier ſtate,
> But life that's glorious, or a death that's great.

For neither is the avoiding of death to be found fault with, if a man is not diſhonorably fond of life; nor is the meeting it with courage, to be commended, if he is

* The Sybarites were a colony of Greeks, who ſettled in antient times on the gulf of Tarentum. The felicity of their ſituation, their wealth and power drew them into luxury, which was remarkable to a proverb. But one cannot credit the extravagant things which Athenæus relates of them. Their chief city which at firſt was called Sybaris, from a river of that name, was afterwards named Thurium or Thurii.

diſguſted with life. Hence it is, that Homer leads out the boldeſt and braveſt of his warriors to battle, always well armed; and the Grecian lawgivers puniſh him who throws away his ſhield, not him who loſes his ſword or ſpear; thus inſtructing us, that the firſt care of every man, eſpecially of every governor of a city, or commander of an army, ſhould be to defend himſelf, and after that, he is to think of annoying the enemy. For if, according to the compariſon made by Iphicrates, the lightarmed reſemble the hands, the cavalry the feet, the main body of infantry the breaſt, and the general the head; then that general who ſuffers himſelf to be carried away by his impetuoſity, ſo as to expoſe himſelf to needleſs hazards, not only endangers his own life, but the lives of his whole army, whoſe ſafety depends upon his. Callicratidas, therefore, though otherwiſe a great man, did not anſwer the ſoothſayer well, who deſired him not to expoſe himſelf to danger, becauſe the entrails of the victim threatened his life. "Sparta," ſaid he, "is not bound up in one "man." For in battle he was indeed but one, when acting under the orders of another, whether at ſea or land; but when he had the command, he virtually comprehended the whole force in himſelf; ſo that he was no longer a ſingle perſon, when ſuch numbers muſt periſh with him. Much better was the ſaying of old Antigonus, when he was going to engage in a ſea fight near the iſle of Andros. Somebody obſerved to him, that the enemy's fleet was much larger than his: "For how many ſhips then doſt thou "reckon me?" He repreſented the importance of the commander great, as in fact it is, when he is a man of experience and valor; and the firſt duty of ſuch a one, is to preſerve him who preſerves the whole.

On the ſame account we muſt allow that Timotheus expreſſed himſelf happily, when Chares ſhowed the Athenians the wounds he had received, when their general, and his ſhield pierced with a ſpear: "I for my part," ſaid he, "was much aſhamed, when at the ſiege of Samos, a "javelin fell near me, as if I had behaved too like a young "man, and not as became the commander of ſo great an "armament." For where the ſcale of the whole action turns upon the general's riſking his own perſon, there he is to ſtand the combat, and to brave the greateſt danger, without regarding thoſe who ſay that a good general ſhould die of old age, or, at leaſt, an old man; but

when the advantage to be reaped from his perſonal bravery is but ſmall, and all is loſt in caſe of a miſcarriage, no one then expects that the general ſhould be endangered, by exerting too much of the ſoldier.

Thus much I thought proper to premiſe before the lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus, who were both great men, and both periſhed by their raſhneſs. Both were excellent ſoldiers did honor to their country, by the greateſt exploits, and had the moſt formidable adverſaries to deal with; for the one defeated Hannibal, until that time invincible, and the other conquered the Lacedæmonians, who were maſters both by ſea and land; and yet at laſt, they both threw away their lives, and ſpilt their blood without any ſort of diſcretion, when the times moſt required ſuch men and ſuch generals. From this reſemblance between them, we have drawn their parallel.

Pelopidas, the ſon of Hippoclus, was of an illuſtrious family in Thebes, as was alſo Epaminondas. Brought up in affluence, and coming in his youth to a great eſtate, he applied himſelf to relieve ſuch neceſſitous perſons as deſerved his bounty, to ſhow that he was really maſter of his riches not their ſlave. For the greateſt part of men, as Ariſtotle ſays, either though covetouſneſs, make no uſe of their wealth, or elſe abuſe it though prodigality; and theſe live perpetual ſlaves to their pleaſures, as thoſe do to care and toil. The Thebans, with grateful hearts, enjoyed the liberality and munificence of Pelopidas. Epaminondas alone could not be perſuaded to ſhare in it. Pelopidas, however, partook in the poverty of his friend, glorying in a plainneſs of dreſs and ſlenderneſs of diet, indefatigable in labor, and plain and open in his conduct, in the higheſt poſts.* In ſhort, he was like Capaneus in Euripides,

> ——Whoſe opulence was great,
> And yet his heart was not elated.

He looked upon it as a diſgrace to expend more upon his own perſon than the pooreſt Theban. As for Epaminondas, poverty was his inheritance, and conſequently familiar to him, but he made it ſtill more light and eaſy, by philoſophy, and by the uniform ſimplicity of his life.

* κατασρατειας ἁδολω——literally, *plain and open in his conduct in war.* But in Bœotia, as well as other Grecian ſtates, a commander in chief of the forces was generally alſo firſt miniſter. Such an one in Bœotia was called Βοιωταρχης.

Pelopidas married into a noble family, and had ſeveral children, but ſetting no greater value upon money than before, and devoting all his time to the concerns of the commonwealth, he impaired his ſubſtance. And when his friends admoniſhed him, that *money which he neglected was a very neceſſary thing: It is neceſſary indeed*, ſaid he, *for Nicodemus there*, pointing to a man that was both lame and blind.

Epaminondas and he were both equally inclined to every virtue, but Pelopidas delighted more in the exerciſes of the body, and Epaminondas in the improvement of the mind; and the one diverted himſelf in the wreſtling ring or in hunting, while the other ſpent his hours of leiſure in hearing or reading ſomething in philoſophy. Among the many things that reflected glory upon both, there was nothing which men of ſenſe ſo much admired, as that ſtrict and inviolable friendſhip which ſubſiſted between them from firſt to laſt, in all the high poſts which they held, both military and civil. For if we conſider the adminiſtration of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, how much the common concern was injured by their diſſention, their envy and jealouſy of each other, and then caſt our eyes upon the mutual kindneſs and eſteem which Pelopidas and Epaminondas inviolably preſerved; we may juſtly call theſe colleagues in civil government and military command, and not thoſe whoſe ſtudy it was to get the better of each other rather than of the enemy. The true cauſe of the difference was, the virtue of theſe Thebans, which led them not to ſeek, in any of their meaſures, their own honor and wealth, the purſuit of which is always attended with envy and ſtrife; but being both inſpired from the firſt with a divine ardor to raiſe their country to the ſummit of glory, for this purpoſe they availed themſelves of the achievements of each other, as if they had been their own.

But many are of opinion, that their extraordinary friendſhip took its riſe from the campaign which they made at Mantinea,* among the ſuccors which the Thebans had ſent the Lacedæmonians, who as yet were their allies. For being placed together among the heavy armed infantry,

* We muſt take care not to confound this with the famous battle at Mantinea, in which Epaminondas was ſlain. For that battle was fought againſt the Lacedæmonians, and this for them. The action here ſpoken of was probably about the third year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad.

and fighting with the Arcadians, that wing of the Lacedæmonians in which they were, gave way and was broken; whereupon Pelopidas and Epaminondas locked their ſhields together and repulſed all that attacked them, till at laſt Pelopidas having received ſeven large wounds, fell upon a heap of friends and enemies who lay dead together. Epaminondas, though he thought there was no life left in him, yet ſtood forward to defend his body and his arms, and being determined to die rather than leave his companion in the power of his enemies, he engaged with numbers at once. He was now in extreme danger, being wounded in the breaſt with a ſpear, and in the arm with a ſword, when Ageſipolis, king of the Lacedæmonians, brought ſuccors from the other wing, and beyond all expectation, delivered them both.

After this, the Spartans in appearance treated the Thebans as friends and allies,* but, in reality, they were ſuſpicious of their ſpirit and power; particularly they hated the party of Iſmenias and Androclides, in which Pelopidas was, as attached to liberty and a popular government. Therefore Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, men inclined to an oligarchy, and rich withal, and ambitious, perſuaded Phœbidas, the Lacedæmonian, who was marching by Thebes, with a body of troops,† to ſeize the caſtle called Cadmea, to drive the oppoſite party out of the city, and to put the adminiſtration into the hands of the nobility, ſubject to the inſpection of the Lacedæmonians. Phœbidas liſtened to the propoſal, and coming upon the Thebans unexpectedly, during the feaſt of the *Theſmophoria*,‡ he made himſelf maſter of the citadel, and ſeized Iſmenias, and carried him to Lacedæmon, where he was put to death ſoon after.

* During the whole Peloponneſian war, Sparta found a very faithful ally in the Thebans; and under the countenance of Sparta, the Thebans recovered the government of Bœotia, of which they had been deprived on account of their defection to the Perſians. However, at length they grew ſo powerful and headſtrong, that when the peace of Antalcidas came to be ſubſcribed to, they refuſed to come into it, and were with no ſmall difficulty overawed and forced into it by the confederates. We learn, indeed, from Polybius, that though the Lacedæmonians, at that peace, declared all the Grecian cities free, they did not withdraw their garriſons from any one of them.

† Phœbidas was marching againſt Olynthus, when Leontidas, or Leontiades, one of the two polemarchs, betrayed to him the town and citadel of Thebes This happened in the third year of the ninetyninth Olympiad, three hundred and ſeventyfour years before the Chriſtian æra. ——— ‡ The women were celebrating this feaſt in the Cadmea.

Pelopidas, Pherenicus, and Androclides, with many others that fled, were ſentenced to baniſhment. But Epaminondas remained upon the ſpot, being deſpiſed for his philoſophy, as a man who would not intermeddle with affairs, and for his poverty, as a man of no power.

Though the Lacedæmonians took the command of the army from Phœbidas, and fined him in a hundred thouſand drachmas, yet they kept a garriſon in the Cadmea notwithſtanding. All the reſt of Greece was ſurpriſed at this abſurdity of theirs, in puniſhing the actor, and yet authoriſing the action. As for the Thebans, who had loſt their ancient form of government, and were brought into ſubjection by Archias and Leontidas, there was no room for them to hope to be delivered from the tyranny, which was ſupported in ſuch a manner by the power of the Spartans, that it could not be pulled down unleſs thoſe Spartans could be deprived of their dominion both by ſea and land.

Nevertheleſs, Leontidas having got intelligence that the exiles were at Athens, and that they were treated there with great regard by the people, and no leſs reſpected by the nobility, formed ſecret deſigns againſt their lives. For this purpoſe he employed certain unknown aſſaſſins, who took off Androclides; but all the reſt eſcaped. Letters were alſo ſent to the Athenians from Sparta, inſiſting that they ſhould not harbor or encourage exiles, but drive them out as perſons declared by the confederates to be common enemies; but the Athenians, agreeable to their uſual and natural humanity, as well as in gratitude to the city of Thebes, would not ſuffer the leaſt injury to be done the exiles. For the Thebans had greatly aſſiſted in reſtoring the democracy at Athens, having made a decree that if any Athenian ſhould march armed through Bœotia againſt the tyrants, he ſhould not meet with the leaſt hinderance or moleſtation in that country.

Pelopidas, though he was one of the youngeſt,* applied to each exile in particular, as well as harangued them in a body; urging, "That it was both diſhonorable and impious to leave their native city enſlaved and garriſoned "by an enemy; and, meanly contented with their own

* Xenophon in the account which he gives of this tranſaction, does not ſo much as mention Pelopidas. His ſilence in this reſpect was probably owing to his partiality to his hero Ageſilaus, whoſe glory he might think would be eclipſed by that of Pelopidas and his worthy colleague Epaminondas; for of the latter, too, he ſpeaks very ſparingly.

"lives and ſafety, to wait for the decrees of the Athenians, "and to make their court to the popular orators; but that "they ought to run every hazard in ſo glorious a cauſe, "imitating the courage and patriotiſm of Thraſybulus; "for as he advanced from Thebes to cruſh the tyrants in "Athens, ſo ſhould they march from Athens to deliver "Thebes."

Thus perſuaded to accept his propoſal, they ſent privately to their friends who were left behind in Thebes, to acquaint them with their reſolution, which was highly approved of; and Charon, a perſon of the firſt rank, offered his houſe for their reception. Philidas found means to be appointed ſecretary to Archias and Philip, who were then *polemarchs*; and as for Epaminondas, he had taken pains all along to inſpire the youth with ſentiments of bravery. For he deſired them in the public exerciſes to try the Lacedæmonians at wreſtling, and when he ſaw them elated with ſucceſs, he uſed to tell them by way of reproof, "That "they ſhould rather be aſhamed of their meanneſs of ſpir- "it in remaining ſubject to thoſe to whom, in ſtrength, "they were ſo much ſuperior."

A day being fixed for putting their deſign in execution, it was agreed among the exiles, that Pherenicus with the reſt ſhould ſtay at Thriaſium, while a few of the youngeſt ſhould attempt to get entrance firſt into the city; and that if theſe happened to be ſurpriſed by the enemy, the others ſhould take care to provide for their children and their parents. Pelopidas was the firſt that offered to be of this party, and then Melon, Democlides, and Theopompus, all men of noble blood, who were united to each other by the moſt faithful friendſhip, and who never had any conteſt but which ſhould be foremoſt in the race of glory and valor. Theſe adventurers who were twelve in number, having embraced thoſe that ſtayed behind, and ſent a meſſenger before them to Charon, ſet out in their under garments, with dogs and hunting poles, that none who met them might have any ſuſpicion of what they were about, and that they might ſeem to be only hunters beating about for game.

When their meſſenger came to Charon, and acquainted him that they were on their way to Thebes, the near approach of danger changed not his reſolution; he behaved like a man of honor, and made preparations to receive them. Hippoſthenidas, who was alſo in the ſecret, was not by any

means an ill man, but rather a friend to his country and to the exiles; yet he wanted that firmneſs which the preſent emergency and the hazardous point of execution required. He grew giddy, as it were, at the thought of the great danger, they were about to plunge in, and at laſt opened his eyes enough to ſee, that they were attempting to ſhake the Lacedæmonian government, and to free themſelves from that power without any other dependence than that of a few indigent perſons and exiles. He therefore went to his own houſe without ſaying a word, and deſpatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas to deſire them to defer their enterpriſe for the preſent, to return to Athens, and to wait till a more favorable opportunity offered.

Chlidon, for that was the name of the man ſent upon this buſineſs, went home in all haſte, took his horſe out of the ſtable, and called for the bridle. His wife being at a loſs, and not able to find it, ſaid ſhe had lent it to a neighbor. Upon this, words aroſe, and mutual reproaches followed; the woman venting bitter imprecations, and wiſhing that the journey might be fatal, both to him and thoſe that ſent him. So that Chlidon, having ſpent great part of the day in this ſquabble, and looking upon what had happened as ominous, laid aſide all thoughts of the journey, and went elſewhere. So near was this great and glorious undertaking to being diſconcerted at the very entrance.

Pelopidas and his company, now in the dreſs of peaſants, divided, and entered the town at different quarters, whilſt it was yet day. And, as the cold weather was ſetting in,* there happened to be a ſharp wind and a ſhower of ſnow, which concealed them the better, moſt people retiring into their houſes, to avoid the inclemency of the weather. But thoſe that were concerned in the affair, received them as they came, and conducted them immediately to Charon's houſe; the exiles and others making up the number of fortyeight.

As for the affairs of the tyrants, they ſtood thus: Philidas, their ſecretary, knew (as we ſaid) the whole deſign of the exiles, and omitted nothing that might contribute to its ſucceſs. He had invited Archias and Philip ſome time before, to an entertainment at his houſe on that day, and

* The Spartans ſeized on the Cadmea about the middle of ſummer, in the year already mentioned, and it was taken from them in the beginning of winter, in the firſt year of the hundredth Olympiad.

promiſed to introduce to them ſome women, in order that thoſe who were to attack them, might find them diſſolved in wine and pleaſure.* They had not yet drank very freely, when a report reached them, which, though not falſe, ſeemed uncertain and obſcure, that the exiles were concealed ſomewhere in the city. And though Philidas endeavored to turn the diſcourſe, Archias ſent an officer to Charon, to command his immediate attendance. By this time it was grown dark, and Pelopidas and his companions were preparing for action, having already put on their breaſt plates and girt their ſwords, when ſuddenly there was a knocking at the door; whereupon one ran to it, and aſked what the perſon's buſineſs was, and having learned from the officer that he was ſent by the polemarchs to fetch Charon, he brought in the news in great confuſion. They were unanimous in their opinion, that the affair was diſcovered, and that every man of them was loſt, before they had performed any thing which became their valor. Nevertheleſs, they thought it proper that Charon ſhould obey the order, and go boldly to the tyrants. Charon was a man of great intrepidity and courage in dangers that threatened only himſelf, but then he was much affected on account of his friends, and afraid that he ſhould lie under ſome ſuſpicion of treachery, if ſo many brave citizens ſhould periſh. Therefore, as he was ready to depart, he took his ſon, who was yet a child, but of a beauty and ſtrength beyond thoſe of his years, out of the women's apartment and put him in the hands of Pelopidas; deſiring, "That if he "found him a traitor he would treat that child as an ene-"my, and not ſpare its life." Many of them ſhed tears, when they ſaw the concern and magnanimity of Charon; and all expreſſed their uneaſineſs at his thinking any of them ſo daſtardly and ſo much diſconcerted with the preſent danger, as to be capable of ſuſpecting or blaming him in the leaſt. They begged of him, therefore, not to leave his ſon with them, but to remove him out of the reach of what might poſſibly happen, to ſome place, where, ſafe from the tyrants, he might be brought up to be an avenger of his country, and his friends. But Charon refuſed to remove him, "For "what life," ſaid he, "or what deliverance could I wiſh

* Perhaps at firſt he really intended to introduce ſome women; or, as it is in the original, γυναικα των ἀνανδρων, *married women*; and the dreſſing up the exiles in female habits, was an after-thought.

"him, that would be more glorious than his falling hon-
"orably with his father and ſo many of his friends?"—
Then he addreſſed himſelf in prayer to the gods, and hav-
ing embraced and encouraged them all, he went out; en-
deavoring by the way to compoſe himſelf, to form his
countenance, and to aſſume a tone of voice very different
from the real ſtate of his mind.

When he was come to the door of the houſe, Archias
and Philidas went out to him and ſaid, "What perſons are
"theſe, Charon, who, as we are informed, are lately come
"into the town, and are concealed and countenanced by
"ſome of the citizens?" Charon was a little fluttered at
firſt, but ſoon recovering himſelf, he aſked, "Who theſe
"perſons they ſpoke of were, and by whom harbored?"
And finding that Archias had no clear account of the mat-
ter, concluded from thence that his information came not
from any perſon that was privy to the deſign, and there-
fore ſaid, "Take care that you do not diſturb yourſelves
"with vain rumors. However, I will make the beſt in-
"quiry I can; for, perhaps, nothing of this kind ought
"to be diſregarded." Philidas, who was by, commended
his prudence, and conducting Archias in again, plied him
ſtrongly with liquor, and prolonged the carouſal by keep-
ing up their expectation of the women.

When Charon was returned home, he found his friends
prepared, not to conquer or to preſerve their lives, but to
ſell them dear, and to fall glorioufly. He told Pelopidas
the truth, but concealed it from the reſt, pretending that
Archias had diſcourſed with him about other matters.*

The firſt ſtorm was ſcarce blown over when fortune raiſ-
ed a ſecond. For there arrived an expreſs from Athens with
a letter from Archias high prieſt there to Archias his name-
ſake and particular friend, not filled with vain and ground-
leſs ſurmiſes, but containing a clear narrative of the whole
affair, as was found afterwards. The meſſenger being
admitted to Archias now almoſt intoxicated, as he deliver-
ed the letter, ſaid, "The perſon who ſent this, deſired that
"it might be read immediately, for it contains buſineſs of
"great importance." But Archias receiving it, ſaid
ſmiling, *Buſineſs tomorrow.* Then he put it under the

* There appears no neceſſity for this artifice; and indeed Plu-
tarch, in his treatiſe concerning the genius of Socrates, ſays, that
Charon came back to the little band of patriots with a pleaſant coun-
tenance, and gave them all an account of what had paſſed, without
the leaſt diſguiſe.

bolſter of his couch, and reſumed the converſation with Philidas. This ſaying, *buſineſs tomorrow*, paſſed into a proverb, and continues ſo among the Greeks to this day.

A good opportunity now offering for the execution of their purpoſe, the friends of liberty divided themſelves into two bodies, and ſallied out. Pelopidas and Damoclidas went againſt Leontidas and Hypates,* who were neighbors, and Charon and Melon againſt Archias and Philip. Charon and his company put women's clothes over their armor, and wore thick wreaths of pine and poplar upon their heads to ſhadow their faces. As ſoon as they came to the door of the room where the gueſts were, the company ſhouted and clapped their hands, believing them to be the women whom they had ſo long expected. When the pretended women had looked round the room, and diſtinctly ſurveyed all the gueſts, they drew their ſwords; and making at Archias and Philip acroſs the table, they ſhowed who they were. A ſmall part of the company were perſuaded by Philidas not to intermeddle; the reſt engaged in the combat, and ſtood up for the *polemarchs*, but, being diſordered with wine, were eaſily deſpatched.

Pelopidas and his party had a more difficult affair of it. They had to do with Leontidas, a ſober and valiant man. They found the door made faſt, for he was gone to bed, and they knocked a long time before any body heard. At laſt a ſervant perceived it, and came down and removed the bar; which he had no ſooner done, than they puſhed open the door, and ruſhing in, threw the man down, and ran to the bed chamber. Leontidas, conjecturing by the noiſe and trampling what the matter was, leapt from his bed and ſeized his ſword; but he forgot to put out the lamps, which, had he done, it would have left them to fall foul on each other in the dark. Being, therefore, fully expoſed to view, he met them at the door, and with one ſtroke laid Cephiſodorus, who was the firſt man that attempted to enter, dead at his feet. He encountered Pelopidas next, and the narrowneſs of the door, together with the dead body of Cephiſodorus lying in the way, made the diſpute long and doubtful. At laſt Pelopidas prevailed, and having ſlain Leontidas, he marched immediately with his little band againſt Hypates. They

* Theſe were not invited to the entertainment, becauſe Archias expecting to meet a woman of great diſtinction, did not chooſe that Leontidas ſhould be there.

got into his houſe in the ſame manner as they did into the other; but he quickly perceived them, made his eſcape into a neighbor's houſe, whither they followed, and deſpatched him.

This affair being over, they joined Melon, and ſent for the exiles they had left in Attica. They proclaimed liberty to all the Thebans,* and armed ſuch as came over to them, taking down the ſpoils that were ſuſpended upon the porticos, and the arms out of the ſhops of the armorers and ſword cutlers. Epaminondas† and Gorgidas, came to their aſſiſtance, with a conſiderable body of young men, and a ſelect number of the old, whom they had collected and armed.

The whole city was now in great terror and confuſion; the houſes were filled with lights, and the ſtreets with men, running to and fro. The people, however, did not yet aſſemble; but being aſtoniſhed at what had happened, and knowing nothing with certainty, they waited with impatience for the day. It ſeems, therefore, to have been a great error in the Spartan officers, that they did not immediately ſally out and fall upon them; for their garriſon conſiſted of fifteen hundred men, and they were joined beſides by many people from the city. But, terrified at the ſhouts, the lights, the hurry, and confuſion that were on every ſide, they contented themſelves with preſerving the citadel.

As ſoon as it was day, the exiles from Attica came in armed; the people complied with the ſummons to aſſemble; and Epaminondas and Gorgidas preſented to them Pelopidas and his party, ſurrounded by the prieſts, who carried garlands in their hands, and called upon the citizens to exert themſelves for their gods and their country. Excited by this appearance, the whole aſſembly ſtood up, and received them with great acclamations as their benefactors and deliverers.

Pelopidas, then elected governor of Bœotia, together with Melon and Charon, immediately blocked up and attacked the citadel, haſtening to drive out the Lacedæmo-

* Pelopidas alſo ſent Philidas to all the gaols in the city, to releaſe thoſe brave Thebans, whom the tyrannic Spartans kept in fetters.

† Epaminondas did not join them ſooner, becauſe he was afraid that too much innocent blood would be ſhed with the guilty.

nians, and to recover the *Cadmea*,* before ſucours could arrive from Sparta. And indeed he was but a little before hand with them; for they had but juſt ſurrendered the place, and were returning home, according to capitulation when they met Cleombrotus at Megara, marching towards Thebes with a great army. The Spartans called to account the three *harmoſtea*, officers who had commanded in the *Cadmea*, and ſigned the capitulation. Hermippidas and Arciſſus were executed for it, and the third, named Dyſaoridas, was ſo ſeverely fined, that he was forced to quit Peloponneſus.†

This action of Pelopidas ‡ was called, by the Greeks, ſiſter to that of Thraſybulus, on account of their near reſemblance not only in reſpect of the great virtues of the men, and the difficulties they had to combat, but the ſucceſs with which fortune crowned them. For it is not eaſy to find another inſtance ſo remarkable, of the few overcoming the many, and the weak the ſtrong, merely by dint of courage and conduct, and procuring by theſe means ſuch great advantages to their country. But the change of affairs which followed upon this action, rendered it ſtill more glorious. For the war which humbled the pride of the Spartans, and deprived them of their empire both by ſea and land, took its riſe from that night, when Pelopidas, without taking town or caſtle, but being only one out of twelve, who entered a private houſe, looſened and broke to pieces (if we may expreſs truth by a metaphor) the chains of the Spartan government, until then eſteemed indiſſoluble.

* As it is not probable that the regaining ſo ſtrong a place, ſhould be the work of a day, or have been effected with ſo ſmall a force as Pelopidas then had, we muſt have recourſe to Diodorus Siculus and Xenophon, who tells us, that the Athenians, early on the next morning, after the ſeizing on the city, ſent the Theban general five thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe; and that ſeveral other bodies of troops came in from the cities of Bœotia, to the number of about ſeven thouſand more; that Pelopidas beſieged the place in form with them, and that it held out ſeveral days, and ſurrendered at length for want of proviſions. *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. xv. *Xenoph.* l. v.

† It was a maxim with the Spartans, to die ſword in hand, in defence of a place committed to their care.

‡ M. Dacier gives a parallel between the conduct of this action, and that of the prince of Monaco in driving a Spaniſh garriſon out of his town.

The Lacedæmonians ſoon entering Bœotia with a powerful army, the Athenians were ſtruck with terror, and renouncing their alliance with the Thebans, they took cognizance in a judicial way, of all that continued in the intereſt of that people, ſome they put to death, ſome they baniſhed, and upon others they laid heavy fines. The Thebans being thus deſerted by their allies, their affairs ſeemed to be in a deſperate ſituation. But Pelopidas and Gorgidas, who then had the command in Bœotia, ſought means to embroil the Athenians again with the Spartans and they availed themſelves of this ſtratagem. There was a Spartan named Sphodrias, a man of great reputation as a ſoldier, but of no ſound judgment, ſanguine in his hopes, and indiſcreet in his ambition. This man was left with ſome troops at Theſpiæ, to receive and protect ſuch of the Bœotians, as might come over to the Spartans. To him Pelopidas privately ſent a merchant in whom he cōuld confide,* well provided with money, and with propoſals that were more likely to prevail than the money: "That it became him "to undertake ſome noble enterpriſe—to ſurpriſe the Piræ-"us for inſtance, by falling ſuddenly upon the Athenians, "who were not provided to receive him; for that nothing "could be ſo agreeable to the Spartans, as to be maſters "of Athens; and that the Thebans now incenſed againſt "the Athenians, and conſidering, them as traitors, would "lend them no manner of aſſiſtance."

Sphodrias, ſuffering himſelf at laſt to be perſuaded, marched into Attica by night, and advanced as far as Eleuſis.† There the hearts of his ſoldiers began to fail, and finding his deſign diſcovered, he returned to Theſpiæ, after he had thus brought upon the Lacedæmonians a long and dangerous war. For upon this the Athenians readily united with the Thebans; and having fitted out a large fleet, they ſailed round Greece, engaging and receiving ſuch as were inclined to ſhake off the Spartan yoke.

* This is more probable than what Diodorus Siculus ſays; namely, that Cleombrotus, without any order from the *Ephori*, perſuaded Sphodrias to ſurpriſe the Piræus.

† They hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but found, when the day appeared, that they were got no farther than Eleuſis.—Sphodrias, perceiving that he was diſcovered, in his return, plundered the Athenian territories. The Lacedæmonians recalled Sphodrias and the *Ephori* proceeded againſt him; but Ageſilaus, influenced by his ſon, who was a friend of the ſon of Sphodrias brought him off.

Meantime, the Thebans, by themſelves, frequently came to action with the Lacedæmonians in Bœotia, not in ſet battles, indeed, but in ſuch as were of conſiderable ſervice and improvement to them; for their ſpirits were raiſed, their bodies inured to labor, and by being uſed to theſe rencounters they gained both experience and courage. Hence it was, that Antalcidas the Spartan, ſaid to Ageſilaus when he returned from Bœotia wounded, *Truly you are well paid for the inſtruction you have given the Thebans, and for teaching them the art of war againſt their will.* Though to ſpeak properly, Ageſilaus was not their inſtructor, but thoſe prudent generals who made choice of fit opportunities to let looſe the Thebans, like ſo many young hounds,* upon the enemy; and when they had taſted of victory, ſatisfied with the ardor they had ſhown, brought them off again ſafe. The chief honor of this was due to Pelopidas. For from the time of his being firſt choſen general, until his death, there was not a year that he was out of employment, but he was conſtantly either captain of the ſacred band, or governor of Bœotia. And while he was employed, the Lacedæmonians were ſeveral times defeated by the Thebans, particularly at Platæa, and at Theſpiæ, where Phœbidas, who had ſurpriſed the *Cadmea*, was killed; and at Tanagra, where Pelopidas beat a conſiderable body, and ſlew, with his own hand, their general Panthoides.

But theſe combats, though they ſerved to animate and encourage the victors, did not quite diſhearten the vanquiſhed. For they were not pitched battles, nor regular engagements, but rather advantages gained of the enemy, by well timed ſkirmiſhes, in which the Thebans ſometimes purſued, and ſometimes retreated.

But the battle of Tegyræ, which was a ſort of prelude to that of Leuctra, lifted the character of Pelopidas very high; for none of the other commanders coud lay claim to any ſhare of the honor of the day, nor had the enemy any pretext to cover the ſhame of their defeat.

He kept a ſtrict eye upon the city of Orchomenus,† which had adopted the Spartan intereſt, and received two companies of foot for its defence, and watched for an op-

* We know not how the former tranſlator happened to render σκυλακας *ſtaunch hounds*, when it ſignifies *whelps*, which by taſting the blood, became eager after the game.

† This was one of the largeſt and moſt conſiderable towns in Bœotia, and ſtill garriſoned by the Lacedæmonians.

portunity to make himſelf maſter of it. Being informed that the garriſon were gone upon an expedition into Locris, he hoped to take the town with eaſe, now it was deſtitute of ſoldiers, and therefore haſtened thither with the *ſacred band*, and a ſmall party of horſe. But finding, when he was near the town, that other troops were coming from Sparta to ſupply the place of thoſe that were marched out, he led his forces back again by Tegyræ, along the ſides of the mountains, which was the only way he could paſs; for all the flat country was overflowed by the river Melas, which, from its very ſource, ſpreading itſelf into marſhes and navigable pieces of water, made the lower roads impracticable.

A little below theſe marſhes, ſtands the temple of Apollo *Tegyræus*, whoſe oracle there, has not been long ſilent. It flouriſhed moſt in the Perſian wars, while Echerates was high prieſt. Here they report, that Apollo was born; and at the foot of the neighboring mountain called Delos, the Melas returns into its channel. Behind the temple riſe two copious ſprings, whoſe waters are admirable for their coolneſs and agreeable taſte. The one is called *Palm*, and the other *Olive*, to this day; ſo that Latona ſeems to have been delivered, not between two trees, but two fountains of that name. Ptoum, too, is juſt by, from whence, it is ſaid, a boar ſuddenly ruſhed out and frighted her; and the ſtories of Python and Tityus, the ſcene of which lies here, agree with their opinion who ſay, Apollo was born in this place. The other proofs, of this matter I omit. For tradition does not reckon this deity among thoſe who were born mortal, and afterwards were changed into demi gods; of which number were Hercules and Bacchus, who by their virtues were raiſed from a frail and periſhable being to immortality; but he is one of thoſe eternal deities who were never born, if we may give credit to thoſe ancient ſages that have treated of theſe high points.

The Thebans then retreating from Orchomenus towards Tegyræ, the Lacedæmonians who were returning from Locris, met them on the road. As ſoon as they were perceived to be paſſing the ſtraits, one ran and told Pelopidas, *We are fallen into the enemy's hands: And why not they*, ſaid he, *into ours?* At the ſame time he ordered the cavalry to advance from the rear to the front, that they might be ready for the attack; and the infantry, who were

but three hundred,* he drew up in a cloſe body; hoping that, wherever they charged, they would break through the enemy, though ſuperior in numbers.

The Spartans had two battalions. Ephorus ſays, their battalion conſiſted of five hundred men, but Calliſthenes makes it ſeven hundred, and Polybius and others nine hundred. Their *polemarchs*, Gorgoleon and Theopompus, puſhed boldly on againſt the Thebans. The ſhock began in the quarter where the generals fought in perſon on both ſides, and was very violent and furious. The Spartan commanders, who attacked Pelopidas, were among the firſt that were ſlain; and all that were near them being either killed or put to flight, the whole army was ſo terrified, that they opened a lane for the Thebans, through which they might have paſſed ſafely, and continued their route if they had pleaſed. But Pelopidas, diſdaining to make his eſcape ſo, charged thoſe who yet ſtood their ground, and made ſuch havoc among them, that they fled in great confuſion. The purſuit was not continued very far, for the Thebans were afraid of the Orchomenians who were near the place of battle, and of the forces juſt arrived from Lacedæmon. They were ſatisfied with beating them in fair combat, and making their retreat through a diſperſed and defeated army.

Having, therefore, erected a trophy, and gathered the ſpoils of the ſlain, they returned home not a little elated. For it ſeems that in all their former wars both with the Greeks and barbarians, the Lacedæmonians had never been beaten, the greater number by the leſs, nor even by equal numbers, in a pitched battle. Thus their courage ſeemed irreſiſtible, and their renown ſo much intimidated their adverſaries, that they did not care to hazard an engagement with them on equal terms. This battle firſt taught the Greeks, that it was not the Eurotas, nor the ſpace between Babyce and Cnacion, which alone produces brave warriors, but wherever the youth are aſhamed of what is

* This ſmall body was, however, the very flower of the Theban army, and was dignified by the names of the *ſacred battalion* and the *band of lovers*, (as mentioned below) being equally famed for their fidelity to the Theban ſtate, and affection for each other. Some fabulous things are related of them, from which we can only infer, that they were a brave reſolute ſet of young men, who had vowed perpetual friendſhip to each other, and had bound themſelves, by the ſtrongeſt ties, to ſtand by one another to the laſt drop of their blood; and were therefore the fitteſt to be employed in ſuch private and dangerous expeditions.

baſe, reſolute in a good cauſe, and more inclined to avoid diſgrace than danger, there are the men who are terrible to their enemies.

Gorgidas, as ſome ſay, firſt formed the *ſacred band*, conſiſting of three hundred ſelect men, who were quartered in the *Cadmea*, and maintained and exerciſed at the public expenſe. They were called the *city band*, for citadels in thoſe days were called cities.

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But Gorgidas, by diſpoſing thoſe that belonged to this ſacred band here and there in the firſt ranks, and covering the front of his infantry with them, gave them but little opportunity to diſtinguiſh themſelves, or effectually to ſerve the common cauſe; thus divided, as they were, and mixed with other troops more in number and of inferior reſolution. But when their valor appeared with ſo much luſtre at Tegyræ, where they fought together, and cloſe to the perſon of their general, Pelopidas would never part them afterwards, but kept them in a body, and conſtantly charged at the head of them in the moſt dangerous attacks. For, as horſes go faſter, when harneſſed together in a chariot, than they do, when driven ſingle, not becauſe their united force more eaſily breaks the air, but becauſe their ſpirits are raiſed higher by emulation; ſo he thought the courage of brave men would be moſt irreſiſtible, when they were acting together and contending with each other which ſhould moſt excel.

But when the Lacedæmonians had made peace with the reſt of the Greeks, and continued the war againſt the Thebans only, and when king Cleombrotus had entered their country with ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, they were not only threatened with the common dangers of war, as before, but even with total extirpation; which ſpread the utmoſt terror over all Bœotia. As Pelopidas, on this occaſion, was departing for the army, his wife, who followed him to the door, beſought him, with tears, to take care of himſelf, he anſwered, *My dear, private perſons are to be adviſed to take care of themſelves, but perſons in a public character to take care of others.*

When he came to the army, and found the general officers differing in opinion, he was the firſt to cloſe in with that of Epaminondas, who propoſed that they ſhould give the enemy battle. He was not, indeed, then one of

thoſe that commanded in chief, but he was captain of the *ſacred band*; and they had that confidence in him, which was due to a man who had given his country ſuch pledges of his regard for liberty.

The reſolution thus taken to hazard a battle, and the two armies in ſight at Leuctra, Pelopidas had a dream which gave him no ſmall trouble. In that field lie the bodies of the daughters of Scedaſus, who are called *Leuctridæ* from the place. For a rape having been committed upon them by ſome Spartans whom they had hoſpitably received into their houſe, they had killed themſelves, and were buried there. Upon this, their father went to Lacedæmon, and demanded that juſtice ſhould be done upon the perſons who had committed ſo deteſtable and atrocious a crime; and, as he could not obtain it, he vented bitter imprecations againſt the Spartans, and then killed himſelf upon the tomb of his daughters. From that time many prophecies and oracles forewarned the Spartans to beware of the vengeance of Leuctra: The true intent of which but few underſtood; for they were in doubt as to the place that was meant, there being a little maritime town called Leuctrum, in Laconia, and another of the ſame name near Megalopolis in Arcadia. Beſides, that injury was done to the daughters of Scedaſus long before the battle of Leuctra.

Pelopidas, then, as he ſlept in his tent, thought he ſaw theſe young women weeping at their tombs, and loading the Spartans with imprecations, while their father ordered him to ſacrifice a red haired young virgin to the damſels, if he deſired to be victorious in the enſuing engagement. This order appearing to him cruel and unjuſt, he roſe and communicated it to the ſoothſayers and the generals. Some were of opinion, that it ſhould not be neglected or diſobeyed, alleging to the purpoſe the ancient ſtories of Menœceus the ſon of Creon,* and Macaria the daughter of Hercules; and the more modern inſtances of Pherecydes the philoſopher, who was put to death by the Lacedæmonians, and whoſe ſkin was preſerved by their kings, purſuant to the direction of ſome oracle; of Leonidas, who by order of the oracle too, ſacrificed himſelf, as it were, for the ſake of Greece; and laſtly, of the human victims

* Menœceus devoted himſelf to death for the benefit of his country; as did alſo Macaria for the benefit of the Heraclidæ. For an account of the former, ſee the *Phœniſſa*, and for the latter, the *Heraclidæ* of Euripides.

offered by Themiſtocles to Bacchus Omeſtes, before the ſea fight at Salamis; to all which ſacrifices the enſuing ſucceſs gave a ſanction. They obſerved alſo, that Ageſilaus ſetting ſail from the ſame place that Agamemnon did, and againſt the ſame enemies, and ſeeing, moreover, at Aulis, the ſame viſion of the goddeſs* demanding his daughter in ſacrifice, through an ill timed tenderneſs for his child refuſed it; the conſequence of which was, that his expedition proved unſucceſsful.

Thoſe that were of the contrary opinion, argued, that ſo barbarous and unjuſt an offering could not poſſibly be acceptable to any ſuperior being; that no *Typhons* or giants, but the father of gods and men, governed the world; that it was abſurd to ſuppoſe that the gods delighted in human ſacrifices; and that, if any of them did, they ought to be diſregarded as impotent beings, ſince ſuch ſtrange and corrupt deſires could not exiſt but in weak and vicious minds.

While the principal officers were engaged on this ſubject, and Pelopidas was more perplexed than all the reſt, on a ſudden a ſhe colt quitted the herd, and ran through the camp; and when ſhe came to the place where they were aſſembled, ſhe ſtood ſtill. The officers, for their part, only admired her color, which was a ſhining red, the ſtatelineſs of her form, the vigor of her motions, and the ſprightlineſs of her neighings; but Theocritus the diviner, underſtanding the thing better, cried out to Pelopidas, "Here comes the victim, fortunate man that thou art! "wait for no other virgin, but ſacrifice that which heaven "hath ſent thee." They then took the colt, and led her to the tomb of the virgins, where, after the uſual prayers and the ceremony of crowning her, they offered her up with joy, not forgetting to publiſh the viſion of Pelopidas and the ſacrifice required, to the whole army.

The day of battle being come, Epaminondas drew up the infantry of his left wing in an oblique form, that the

* Xenophon, in the ſeventh book of his Grecian hiſtory, acquaints us, that Pelopidas when he went upon an embaſſy to the king of Perſia repreſented to him, that the hatred which the Lacedæmonians bore the Thebans, was owing to their not following Ageſilaus when he went to make war upon Perſia, and to their hindering him from ſacrificing his daughter at Aulis when Diana demanded her; a compliance with which demand would have enſured his ſucceſs; ſuch, at leaſt, was the doctrine of the heathen theology.

right wing of the Spartans being obliged to divide from the other Greeks, he might fall with all his force upon Cleombrotus, who commanded them, and break them with the greater eaſe. But the enemy, perceiving his intention, began to change their order of battle, and to extend their right wing, and wheel about, with a deſign to ſurround Epaminondas. In the mean time, Pelopidas came briſkly up with his band of three hundred; and before Cleombrotus could extend his wing as he deſired, or reduce it to its former diſpoſition, fell upon the Spartans, diſordered as they were with the imperfect movement. And though the Spartans, who were excellent maſters in the art of war, labored no point ſo much as to keep their men from confuſion, and from diſperſing when their ranks happened to be broken;* inſomuch that the private men were as able as the officers to knit again, and to make an united effort, wherever any occaſion of danger required; yet Epaminondas then attacking their right wing only, without ſtopping to contend with the other troops, and Pelopidas ruſhing upon them with incredible ſpeed and bravery, broke their reſolution, and baffled their art. The conſequence was ſuch a rout and ſlaughter as had been never known before.† For this reaſon Pelopidas, who had no ſhare in the chief command, but was only captain of a ſmall band, gained as much honor by this day's great ſucceſs, as Epaminondas, who was governor of Bœotia, and commander of the whole army.

But ſoon after they were appointed joint governors of Bœotia, and entered Peloponneſus together, where they

* ὡς το μη πλαιασθαι μηδε ταραττεσθαι ταξεως διαλυθεισης——

† The Theban army conſiſted, at moſt, but of ſix thouſand men, whereas that of the enemy was, at leaſt thrice that, number reckoning the allies. But Epaminondas truſted moſt in his cavalry, wherein he had much the advantage both in their quality and good management; the reſt he endeavored to ſupply by the diſpoſition of his men, who were drawn up fifty deep, whereas the Spartans were but twelve. When the Thebans had gained the victory, and killed Cleombrotus, the Spartans renewed the fight, to recover the king's body; and in this the Theban general wiſely choſe to gratify them, rather than hazard the ſucceſs of a ſecond onſet. The allies of the Spartans behaved ill in this battle, becauſe they came to it with an expectation to conquer without fighting; as for the Thebans, they had no allies at this time. This battle was fought in the year before Chriſt 371. *Diod. Sic.* l. xv. *Xenoph. Hellen.* l. vi.

cauſed ſeveral cities to revolt from the Lacedæmonians, and brought over to the Theban intereſt Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and great part of Laconia itſelf. It was now the winter ſolſtice, and the latter end of the laſt month in the year, ſo that they could hold their office but a few days longer; for new governors were to ſucceed on the firſt day of the next month, and the old ones to deliver up their charge under pain of death.

The reſt of their colleagues, afraid of the law, and diſliking a winter campaign, were for marching home without loſs of time; but Pelopidas joining with Epaminondas to oppoſe it, encouraged his fellow citizens, and led them againſt Sparta. Having paſſed the Eurotas, they took many of the Lacedæmonian towns, and ravaged all the country to the very ſea, with an army of ſeventy thouſand Greeks, of which the Thebans did not make the twelfth part. But the character of thoſe two great men, without any public order or decree, made all the allies follow with ſilent approbation, wherever they led. For the firſt and ſupreme law, that of nature, ſeems to direct thoſe that have need of protection, to take him for their chief who is moſt able to protect them. And as paſſengers, though, in fine weather, or in port, they may behave inſolently, and brave the pilots, yet, as ſoon as a ſtorm ariſes, and danger appears, fix their eyes on them, and rely wholly on their ſkill; ſo the Argives, the Eleans, and the Arcadians, in the bent of their councils, were againſt the Thebans, and contended with them for ſuperiority of command; but when the time of action came, and danger preſſed hard, they followed the Theban generals of their own accord, and ſubmitted to their orders.

In this expedition they united all Arcadia into one body, drove out the Spartans who had ſettled in Meſſenia, and called home its antient inhabitants; they likewiſe repeopled Ithome. And in their return through Cenchrea, they defeated the Athenians,* who had attacked them in the ſtraits, with a deſign to hinder their paſſage.

After ſuch achievements, all the other Greeks were charmed with their valor, and admired their good fortune; but the envy of their fellow citizens, which grew up to-

* This happened to the Athenians though the error of their general Iphicrates, who, though otherwiſe an able man, forgot the paſs of Cenchrea, while he placed his troops in poſts leſs commodious.

gether with their glory, prepared for them a very unkind and unſuitable reception. For at their return they were both capitally tried, for not delivering up their charge, according to law, in the firſt month, which they call *Boucation*, but holding it four months longer; during which time they performed thoſe great actions in Meſſenia, Arcadia, and Laconia.

Pelopidas was tried firſt, and therefore was in moſt danger; however, they were both acquitted. Epaminondas bore the accuſations and attempts of malignity with great patience; for he conſidered it as no ſmall inſtance of fortitude and magnanimity, not to reſent the injuries done by his fellow citizens; but Pelopidas, who was naturally of a warmer temper, and excited by his friends to revenge himſelf, laid hold on this occaſion.

Meneclidas, the orator, was one of thoſe who met upon the great enterpriſe in Charon's houſe. This man finding himſelf not held in the ſame honor with the reſt of the deliverers of their country, and being a good ſpeaker, though of bad principles, and a malevolent diſpoſition, indulged his natural turn, in accuſing and calumniating his ſuperiors; and this he continued to do with reſpect to Epaminondas and Pelopidas, even after judgment was paſſed in their favor. He prevailed ſo far as to deprive Epaminondas of the government of Bœotia, and managed a party againſt him a long time with ſucceſs; but his inſinuations againſt Pelopidas were not liſtened to by the people, and therefore he endeavored to embroil him with Charon. It is the common conſolation of envy, when a man cannot maintain the higher ground himſelf, to repreſent thoſe he is excelled by, as inferior to ſome others. Hence it was, that Meneclidas was ever extolling the actions of Charon to the people, and laviſhing encomiums upon his expeditions and victories. Above all, he magnified his ſucceſs in a battle fought by the cavalry under his command at Platæa, a little before the battle of Leuctra, and endeavored to perpetuate the memory of it by ſome public monument.

The occaſion he took was this. Androcides of Cyzicum had agreed with the Thebans for a picture of ſome other battle; which piece he worked at in the city of Thebes. But upon the revolt, and the war that enſued, he was obliged to quit that city, and leave the painting, which was almoſt finiſhed, with the Thebans. Meneclidas endeavored to perſuade the people to hang up this piece in

one of their temples, with an inſcription, ſignifying that it was one of Charon's battles, in order to caſt a ſhade upon the glory of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Certainly the propoſal was vain and abſurd, to prefer one ſingle engagement,* in which there fell only Gerandas, a Spartan of no note, with forty others, to ſo many and ſuch important victories. Pelopidas, therefore, oppoſed this motion, inſiſting that it was contrary to the laws and uſages of the Thebans, to aſcribe the honor of a victory to any one man in particular, and that their country ought to have the glory of it entire. As for Charon, he was liberal in his praiſes of him through his whole harangue, but he ſhowed that Meneclidas was an envious and malicious man; and he often aſked the Thebans, if they had never before done any thing that was great and excellent. Hereupon a heavy fine was laid upon Meneclidas; and, as he was not able to pay it, he endeavored afterwards, to diſturb and overturn the government. Such particulars as theſe, though ſmall, ſerve to give an inſight into the lives and characters of men.

At that time Alexander,† the tyrant of Pheræ, making open war againſt ſeveral cities of Theſſaly, and entertaining a ſecret deſign to bring the whole country into ſubjection, the Theſſalians ſent ambaſſadors to Thebes to beg the favor of a general and ſome troops. Pelopidas ſeeing Epaminondas engaged in ſettling the affairs of Peloponneſus, offered himſelf to command in Theſſaly, for he was unwilling that his military talents and ſkill ſhould lie uſeleſs, and well ſatisfied withal, that wherever Epaminondas was, there was no need of any other general. He therefore marched with his forces into Theſſaly, where he ſoon recovered Lariſſa; and, as Alexander came and made ſubmiſſion, he endeavored to ſoften and humanize him, and, inſtead of a tyrant, to render him a juſt and good prince. But finding him incorrigible and brutal, and receiving freſh complaints of his cruelty, his unbridled luſt and inſatiable avarice, he thought it neceſſary to treat him with ſome ſeverity; upon which he made his eſcape with the guards.

* Xenophon ſpeaks ſlightly of Charon; he ſays, "The exiles "went to the houſe of *one* Charon."

† He had lately poiſoned his uncle Polyphron, and ſet himſelf up tyrant in his ſtead. Polyphron, indeed, had killed his own brother Polydore, the father of Alexander. All theſe, with Jaſon, who was of the ſame family, were uſurpers of Theſſaly, which before was a free ſtate.

Having now ſecured the Theſſalians againſt the tyrant, and left them in a good underſtanding among themſelves, he advanced into Macedonia.* Ptolemy had commenced hoſtilities againſt Alexander king of that country, and they both had ſent for Pelopidas to be an arbitrator of their differences, and an aſſiſtant to him who ſhould appear to be injured. Accordingly he went and decided their diſputes, recalled ſuch of the Macedonians as had been baniſhed, and taking Philip, the king's brother, and thirty young men of the beſt families as hoſtages, he brought them to Thebes; that he might ſhow the Greeks to what height the Theban commonwealth was riſen by the reputation of its arms, and the confidence that was placed in its juſtice and probity.†

This was that Philip who afterwards made war upon Greece, to conquer and enſlave it. He was now a boy, and brought up at Thebes, in the houſe of Pammenes. Hence he was believed to have propoſed Epaminondas for his pattern; and perhaps he was attentive to that great man's activity and happy conduct in war, which was in truth the moſt inconſiderable part of his character; as for his temperance, his juſtice his magnanimity, and mildneſs, which really conſtituted Epaminondas the great man, Philip had no ſhare of them, either natural or acquired.

After this, the Theſſalians complaining again, that Alexander of Pheræ diſturbed their peace, and formed deſigns upon their cities, Pelopidas and Ismenias were deputed to attend them. But having no expectation of a war, Pelopidas had brought no troops with him, and therefore the urgency of the occaſion obliged him to make uſe of the Theſſalian forces.

At the ſame time there were freſh commotions in Macedonia; for Ptolemy had killed the king and aſſumed the ſovereignty. Pelopidas, who was called in by the friends of the deceaſed, was deſirous to undertake the cauſe; but, having no troops of his own, he haſtily raiſed ſome mercenaries, and marched with them immediately againſt

* Amyntas II, left three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural ſon, whoſe name was Ptolemy. This laſt made war againſt Alexander, ſlew him treacherouſly, and reigned three years.

† About this time the cauſe of liberty was in a great meaſure deſerted by the other Grecian ſtates. Thebes was now the only commonwealth that retained any remains of patriotiſm and concern for the injured and oppreſſed.

Ptolemy. Upon their approach, Ptolemy bribed the mercenaries and brought them over to his ſide; yet, dreading the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he went to pay his reſpects to him as his ſuperior, endeavored to pacify him with entreaties, and ſolemnly promiſed to keep the kingdom for the brothers of the dead king, and to regard the enemies and friends of the Thebans as his own. For the performance of theſe conditions he delivered to him his ſon Philoxenus and fifty of his companions, as hoſtages. Theſe Pelopidas ſent to Thebes. But being incenſed at the treachery of the mercenaries, and having intelligence that they had lodged the beſt part of their effects, together with their wives and children, in Pharſalus, he thought by taking theſe he might ſufficiently revenge the affront. Hereupon he aſſembled ſome Theſſalian troops, and marched againſt the town. He was no ſooner arrived, than Alexander the tyrant appeared before it with his army. Pelopidas concluding that he was come to make apology for his conduct, went to him with Iſmenias. Not that he was ignorant what an abandoned and ſanguinary man he had to deal with, but he imagined that the dignity of Thebes and his own character would protect him from violence. The tyrant, however, when he ſaw them alone and unarmed, immediately ſeized their perſons, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Pharſalus. This ſtruck all his ſubjects with terror and aſtoniſhment; for they were perſuaded, that, after ſuch a flagrant act of injuſtice, he would ſpare nobody, but behave on all occaſions, and to all perſons, like a man that had deſperately thrown off all regard to his own life and ſafety.

When the Thebans were informed of this outrage, they were filled with indignation, and gave orders to their army to march directly into Theſſaly; but Epaminondas then happening to lie under their diſpleaſure,* they appointed other generals.

As for Pelopidas, the tyrant took him to Pheræ, where at firſt he did not deny any one acceſs to him, imagining that he was greatly humbled by his misfortune. But Pelo-

* They were diſpleaſed at him, becauſe in a late battle fought with the Lacedæmonians near Corinth, he did not, as they thought, purſue his advantage to the utmoſt, and put more of the enemy to the ſword. Hereupon they removed him from the government of Bœotia, and ſent him along with their forces as a private perſon. Such acts of ingratitude towards great and excellent men are common in popular governments.

pidas, ſeeing the Pheræans overwhelmed with ſorrow, bade them be comforted, becauſe now vengeance was ready to fall upon the tyrant; and ſent to tell him, "That he acted "very abſurdly in daily torturing and putting to death ſo "many of his innocent ſubjects, and in the mean time "ſparing *him*, who, he might know, was determined to "puniſh him when once out of his hands." The tyrant, ſurpriſed at his magnanimity and unconcern, made anſwer, "Why is Pelopidas in ſuch haſte to die?" Which being reported to Pelopidas, he replied, "It is that thou, being "more hated by the gods than ever, mayeſt the ſooner "come to a miſerable end."

From that time Alexander allowed acceſs to none but his keepers. Thebe, however, the daughter of Jaſon, who was wife to the tyrant, having an account from thoſe keepers of his noble and intrepid behavior, had a deſire to ſee him, and to have ſome diſcourſe with him. When ſhe came into the priſon, ſhe could not preſently diſtinguiſh the majeſtic turn of his perſon amidſt ſuch an appearance of diſtreſs; yet ſuppoſing from the diſorder of his hair, and the meanneſs of his attire and proviſions, that he was treated unworthily, ſhe wept. Pelopidas, who knew not his viſitor, was much ſurpriſed; but when he underſtood her quality, addreſſed her by her father's name, with whom he had been intimately acquainted. And upon her ſaying, "I pity your wife," he replied, "And I pity you, who, "wearing no fetters, can endure Alexander." This affected her nearly; for ſhe hated the cruelty and inſolence of the tyrant, who to his other debaucheries added that of abuſing her youngeſt brother. In conſequence of this, and by frequent interviews with Pelopidas, to whom ſhe communicated her ſufferings, ſhe conceived a ſtill ſtronger reſentment and averſion for her huſband.

The Theban generals, who had entered Theſſaly, without doing any thing, and either through their incapacity or ill fortune, returned with diſgrace, the city of Thebes fined each of them ten thouſand *drachmas*, and gave Epaminondas the command of the army that was to act in Theſſaly.

The reputation of the new general, gave the Theſſalians freſh ſpirits, and occaſioned ſuch great inſurrections among them, that the tyrant's affairs ſeemed to be in a very deſperate condition; ſo great was the terror that fell upon his officers and friends, ſo forward were his ſubjects to revolt, and ſo univerſal was the joy at the proſpect of ſeeing him puniſhed.

Epaminondas, however, preferred the ſafety of Pelopidas to his own fame; and fearing, if he carried matters to an extremity at firſt, that the tyrant might grow deſperate, and deſtroy his priſoner, he protracted the war. By fetching a compaſs as if to finiſh his preparations, he kept Alexander in ſuſpenſe, and managed him ſo as neither to moderate his violence and pride,* nor yet to increaſe, his fierceneſs and cruelty. For he knew his ſavage diſpoſition and the little regard he paid to reaſon or juſtice; that he buried ſome perſons alive, and dreſſed others in the ſkins of bears and wild boars, and then, by way of diverſion, baited them with dogs, or deſpatched them with darts; that having ſummoned the people of Melibœa and Scotuſa, towns in friendſhip and alliance with him, to meet him in full aſſembly, he ſurrounded them with guards, and with all the wantonneſs of cruelty, put them to the ſword; and that he conſecrated the ſpear with which he ſlew his uncle Polyphron, and having crowned it with garlands, offered ſacrifice to it, as to a god, and gave it the name of *Tyrbon*. Yet upon ſeeing a tragedian act the *Troades* of Euripides, he went haſtily out of the theatre, and at the ſame time ſent a meſſage to the actor, "Not to be diſcouraged, but to exert all his "ſkill in his part; for it was not out of any diſlike that he "went out, but he was aſhamed that his citizens ſhould "ſee him, who never pitied thoſe he put to death, weep "at the ſufferings of Hecuba and Andromache."

This execrable tyrant was terrified at the very name and character of Epaminondas,

And dropped the craven wing.

He ſent an embaſſy in all haſte to offer ſatisfaction, but that general did not vouchſafe to admit ſuch a man into alliance with the Thebans; he only granted him a truce of thirty days, and having recovered Pelopidas and Iſmenias out of his hands, he marched back again with his army.

Soon after this, the Thebans having diſcovered that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had ſent ambaſſadors to the king of Perſia, to draw him into league with them, ſent Pelopidas on their part; whoſe eſtabliſhed reputation amply

* Ὡς μήτε καθεῖναι τὸ αὐθαδὲς καὶ θρασυνόμενον, μήτε τὸ ὠμὸν καὶ θυμοειδὲς ἐξερεθίσαι. If the tyrant had reſtrained his exceſſes, his ſubjects might have returned to him, and if his fury had been more provoked, he might have killed Pelopidas.

juſtified their choice. For he had no ſooner entere king's dominions than he was univerſally known and ored; the fame of his battles with the Lacedæmo had ſpread itſelf though Aſia; and, after his victo Leuctra, the report of new ſucceſſes continually follo had extended his renown to the moſt diſtant province that when he arrived at the king's court, and app before the nobles and great officers that waited the was the object of univerſal admiration. "This," ſaid "is the man who deprived the Lacedæmonians o "empire both of ſea and land, and confined Sparta w "the bounds of Taygetus and Eurotas; that Sparta, "a little before, under the conduct of Ageſilaus, "war againſt the great king, and ſhook the realms of "and Ecbatana." On the ſame account Artaxerxe joiced to ſee Pelopidas, and loaded him with ho But when he heard him converſe in terms that were ſti than thoſe of the Athenians, and plainer than thoſe Spartans, he admired him ſtill more; and, as kings u conceal their inclinations, he made no ſecret of his a ment to him, but let the other ambaſſadors ſee the diſti in which he held him. It is true, that, of all the G he ſeemed to have done Antalcidas the Spartan the g honor,* when he took the garland which he wore a from his head, dipt it in perfumes, and ſent it him. though he did not treat Pelopidas with that familiari he made him the richeſt and moſt magnificent preſent fully granted his demands; which were, "That a "Greeks ſhould be free and independent; that M "ſhould be repeopled; and that the Thebans ſhou "reckoned the king's hereditary friends."

With this anſwer he returned, but without acceptin of the king's preſents, except ſome tokens of his fav regard; a circumſtance that reflected no ſmall di upon the other ambaſſadors. The Athenians condo and executed Timagoras, and juſtly too, if it was on a of the many preſents he received. For he accepted m gold and ſilver, but a magnificent bed, and ſervi make it, as if that was an art which the Greeks we ſkilled in. He received alſo fourſcore cows, and her to take care of them, as if he wanted their milk

* If Plutarch means the Spartan ambaſſador, he differs from phon, who ſays that his name was Euthicles. He likewiſe tells Timagoras was the perſon whom the king eſteemed next to Pel

health; and, at laſt, he ſuffered himſelf to be carried in a litter as far as the ſea coaſt at the king's expence, who paid four talents for his conveyance: But his receiving of preſents does not ſeem to have been the principal thing that incenſed the Athenians. For when Epicrates, the armor bearer acknowledged in full aſſembly, that he had received the king's preſents, and talked of propoſing a decree, that, inſtead of chooſing nine *archons* every year, nine of the pooreſt citizens ſhould be ſent ambaſſadors to the king, that by his gifts they might be raiſe to affluence, the people only laughed at the motion. What exaſperated the Athenians moſt, was, that the Thebans had obtained of the king all they aſked; they did not conſider how much the character of Pelopidas outweighed the addreſs of their orators, with a man who ever paid particular attention to military excellence.

This embaſſy procured Pelopidas great applauſe, as well in account of the repeopling of Meſſene, as to the reſtoring of liberty to the reſt of Greece.

Alexander the Pheræan was now returned to his natural diſpoſition; he had deſtroyed ſeveral cities of Theſſaly, and put garriſons into the towns of the Phthiotæ, the Achæans and the Magneſians. As ſoon as theſe oppreſſed people had learnt that Pelopidas was returned, they ſent their deputies to Thebes, to beg the favor of ſome forces, and that he might be their general. The Thebans willingly granted their requeſt, and an army was ſoon got ready; but as the general was on the point of marching, the ſun began to be eclipſed, and the city was covered with darkneſs in the day time.

Pelopidas, ſeeing the people in great conſternation at this *phenomenon*, did not think proper to force the army to move, while under ſuch terror and diſmay, nor to riſk the lives of ſeven thouſand of his fellow citizens. Inſtead of that, he went himſelf into Theſſaly, and taking with him only three hundred horſe, conſiſting of Theban volunteers and ſtrangers, he ſet out, contrary to the warnings of the ſoothſayers and inclinations of the people. For they conſidered the eclipſe as a ſign from heaven, the object of which muſt be ſome illuſtrious perſonage. But, beſides that Pelopidas was the more exaſperated againſt Alexander by reaſon of the ill treatment he had received, he hoped from the converſation he had with Thebe, to find the tyrant's family embroiled and in great diſorder. The greateſt

ea, and endeavored to exterminate all arbitrary a
juſt government.

When he was arrived at Pharſalus, he aſſemb
forces, and then marched directly againſt Alexander
knowing that Pelopidas had but few Thebans abou
and that he himſelf had double his number of Th
infantry, went to meet him as far as the temple of
When he was informed, that the tyrant was adv
towards him with a great army, *So much the bett*
he, *for we ſhall beat ſo many the more.*

Near the place called Cynoſcephalæ, there are tw
hills oppoſite each other, in the middle of the plain.
ſides endeavored to get poſſeſſion of theſe hills wit
infantry. In the mean time Pelopidas with his c
which was numerous and excellent, charged the e
horſe, and put them to the rout. But while he wa
ſuing them over the plain, Alexander had gained th
having got before the Theſſalian foot, which he at
as they were trying to force thoſe ſtrong heights, kill
foremoſt, and wounding many of thoſe that follo
that they toiled without effecting any thing. Pel
ſeeing this, called back his cavalry, and ordered t
fall upon ſuch of the enemy as ſtill kept their grou
the plain; and taking his buckler in his hand, he
join thoſe that were engaged on the hills. He foo
his way to the front, and by his preſence inſpir
ſoldiers with ſuch vigor and alacrity, that the
thought they had quite different men to deal with.
ſtood two or three charges; but when they found

perceived him on the right encouraging and rallying the mercenaries, he was no longer maſter of himſelf; but ſacrificing both his ſafety, and his duty as a general, to his paſſion, he ſprang forward a great way before his troops, loudly calling for and challenging the tyrant, who did not dare to meet him or to wait for him, but fell back and hid himſelf in the midſt of his guards. The foremoſt ranks of the mercenaries, who came hand to hand, were broken by Pelopidas, and a number of them ſlain; but others fighting at a diſtance, pierced his armor with their javelins. The Theſſalians, extremely anxious for him, ran down the hill to his aſſiſtance, but when they came to the place, they found him dead upon the ground. Both horſe and foot then falling upon the enemy's main body, entirely routed them, and killed above three thouſand. The purſuit continued a long way, and the fields were covered with the carcaſes of the ſlain.

Such of the Thebans as were preſent, were greatly afflicted at the death of Pelopidas, calling him *their father, their ſavior, and inſtructor in every thing that was great and honorable.* Nor is this to be wondered at; ſince the Theſſalians and allies, after exceeding, by their public acts in his favor, the greateſt honors that are uſually paid to human virtue, teſtified their regard for him ſtill more ſenſibly by the deepeſt ſorrow. For it is ſaid, that thoſe who were in the action, neither put off their armor, nor unbridled their horſes, nor bound up their wounds, after they heard that he was dead; but, notwithſtanding their heat and fatigue, repaired to the body, as if it ſtill had life and ſenſe, piled round it the ſpoils of the enemy, and cut off their horſes' manes and their own hair.* Many of them, when they retired to their tents, neither kindled a fire nor took any refreſhment; but a melancholy ſilence reigned throughout the camp, as if, inſtead of gaining ſo great and glorious a victory, they had been worſted and enſlaved by the tyrant.

When the news was carried to the towns, the magiſtrates, young men, children, and prieſts came out to meet the body, with trophies, crowns and golden armor; and when the time of his interment was come, ſome of the Theſſalians who were venerable for their age, went and begged of the Thebans that they might have the honor of burying him. One of them expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms: "What

* A cuſtomary token of mourning among the ancients.

"we requeſt of you, our good allies, will be an honor "and conſolation to us under this great misfortune. It is "not the living Pelopidas, whom the Theſſalians deſire to "attend; it is not to Pelopidas ſenſible of their gratitude, "that they would now pay the due honors; all we aſk is "the permiſſion to waſh, to adorn, and inter his dead body. "And if we obtain this favor, we ſhall believe you are "perſuaded that we think our ſhare in the common cala- "mity greater than yours. You have loſt only a good "general, but we are ſo unhappy as to be deprived both "of him and of our liberty. For how ſhall we preſume "to aſk you for another general, when we have not re- "ſtored to you Pelopidas?"

The Thebans granted their requeſt. And ſurely there never was a more magnificent funeral, at leaſt in the opinion of thoſe who do not place magnificence in ivory, gold, and purple; as Philiſtus did, who dwells in admiration upon the funeral of Dionyſius; which, properly ſpeaking, was nothing but the pompous cataſtrophe of that bloody tragedy, his tyranny. Alexander the Great, too, upon the death of Hephæſtion, not only had the manes of the horſes and mules ſhorn, but cauſed the battlements of the walls to be taken down, that the very cities might ſeem to mourn, by loſing their ornaments, and having the appearance of being ſhorn and chaſtiſed with grief.* Theſe things being the effects of arbitrary orders, executed through neceſſity, and attended both with envy of thoſe for whom they are done, and hatred of thoſe who command them, are not proofs of eſteem and reſpect, but of barbaric pomp, of luxury, and vanity, in thoſe who laviſh their wealth to ſuch vain and deſpicable purpoſes. But that a man who was only one of the ſubjects of a republic,† dying in a ſtrange country, neither his wife, children, or kinſmen preſent, without the requeſt or command of any one, ſhould be attended home, conducted to the grave, and crowned by ſo many cities and tribes, might juſtly paſs for an inſtance of the moſt perfect happineſs. For the obſervation of Æſop is not true, that *Death is moſt unfortunate in the time of proſperity; on the contrary, it is then moſt happy, ſince it ſecures to good men the glory of their virtuous actions, and puts them above the power of fortune.* The compliment, therefore, of the Spartan was much more rational, when embracing Diagoras, after

* κεφαλὴν ἐξυρῆσθαι —— † ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης ——

and his ſons and grandſons had all conquered and been
wned at the Olympic games, he ſaid, *Die, die now,*
igoras, *for thou canſt not be a god.** And yet, I think,
man ſhould put all the victories in the Olympian and
hian games together, he would not pretend to com-
e them with any one of the enterpriſes of Pelopidas,
ich were many and all ſucceſsful; ſo that after he had
riſhed the greateſt part of his life in honor and re-
vn, and had been appointed the thirteenth time govern-
of Bœotia, he died in a great exploit, the conſequence
which was the deſtruction of the tyrant, and the reſtor-
of its liberties to Theſſaly.

His death, as it gave the allies great concern, ſo it
ught them ſtill greater advantages. For the Thebans
e no ſooner informed of it, than prompted by a deſire
evenge, they ſent upon that buſineſs ſeven thouſand
t and ſeven hundred horſe, under the command of
lcites and Diogiton. Theſe finding Alexander weak-
d with his late defeat, and reduced to great difficulties,
npelled him to reſtore the cities he had taken from the
eſſalians, to withdraw his garriſons from the territories
he Magneſians, the Phthiotæ, and Achæans, and to
age by oath to ſubmit to the Thebans, and to keep
forces in readineſs to execute their orders.

And here it is proper to relate the puniſhment which the
s inflicted upon him ſoon after for his treatment of
opidas. He, as we have already mentioned, firſt taught
ebe, the tyrant's wife, not to dread the exterior pomp
ſplendor of his palace, though ſhe lived in the midſt of
rds, conſiſting of exiles from other countries. She,
refore, fearing his falſehood, and hating his cruelty,
eed with her three brothers Tiſiphonus, Pytholaus, and
ophron, to take him off; and they put their deſign in
cution after this manner. The whole palace was full of
rds, who watched all the night, except the tyrant's
chamber, which was an upper room, and the door of
apartment was guarded by a dog who was chained there,
who would fly at every body except his maſter and
reſs and one ſlave that fed him. When the time fixed
the attempt was come, Thebe concealed her brothers,
ore it was dark, in a room hard by. She went in alone,
ſual, to Alexander, who was already aſleep, but preſently

* ουτος των οπλων και των φυγαδων ουτω.

came out again, and ordered the ſlave to take away the dog, becauſe her huſband choſe to ſleep without being diſturbed; and that the ſtairs might not creak as the young men came up, ſhe covered them with wool. She then fetched up her brothers, and leaving them at the door with poniards in their hands, went into the chamber, and taking away the tyrant's ſword, which hung at the head of his bed, ſhowed it them as a proof that he was faſt aſleep. The young men now being ſtruck with terror, and not daring to advance, ſhe reproached them with cowardice, and ſwore in her rage, that ſhe would awake Alexander, and tell him the whole. Shame and fear having brought them to themſelves, ſhe led them in and placed them about the bed, herſelf holding the light. One of them caught him by the feet, and another by the hair of his head, while the third ſtabbed him with his poniard. Such a death was, perhaps, too ſpeedy for ſo abominable a monſter; but if it be conſidered that he was the firſt tyrant who was aſſaſſinated by his own wife, and that his dead body was expoſed to all kinds of indignities, and ſpurned and trodden under foot by his ſubjects, his puniſhment will appear to have been proportioned to his crimes.

MARCELLUS.

MARCUS CLAUDIUS, who was five times conſul, was the ſon of Marcus; and, according to Poſidonius, the firſt of his family that bore the ſurname of Marcellus, that is, *Martial*. He had, indeed, a great deal of military experience; his make was ſtrong, his arm almoſt irreſiſtible, and he was naturally inclined to war. But though impetuous and lofty in the combat, on other occaſions he was modeſt and humane. He was ſo far a lover of the Grecian learning and eloquence, as to honor and admire thoſe that excelled in them, though his employments prevented his making that progreſs in them which he deſired. For if Heaven ever deſigned that any men,

> ——in war's rude liſts ſhould combat,
> From youth to age——

as Homer expreſſes it, certainly it was the principal Romans of thoſe times. In their youth they had to contend with the Carthaginians for the iſland of Sicily, in their

middle age with the Gauls for Italy itſelf, and in their old age again with the Carthaginians and Hannibal. Thus, even in age, they had not the common relaxation and repoſe, but were called forth by their birth and their merit to accept of military commands.

As for Marcellus, there was no kind of fighting in which he was not admirably well ſkilled; but in ſingle combat he excelled himſelf. He, therefore, never refuſed a challenge, or failed of killing the challenger. In Sicily, ſeeing his brother Otacilius in great danger, he covered him with his ſhield, ſlew thoſe that attacked him, and ſaved his life.—For theſe things, he received from the generals crowns and other military honors, while but a youth; and his reputation increaſing every day, the people appointed him to the office of *curule ædile*, and the prieſts to that of *augur*. This is a kind of ſacerdotal function to which the law aſſigns the care of that divination which is taken from the flight of birds.

* * * * * * * * * * *

After the firſt Carthaginian war,* which had laſted twentytwo years, Rome was ſoon engaged in a new war with the Gauls. The Inſubrains, a Celtic nation, who inhabit that part of Italy which lies at the foot of the Alps, though very powerful in themſelves, called in the aſſiſtance of the Geſatæ, a people of Gaul, who fight for pay on ſuch occaſions. It was a wonderful and fortunate thing for the Roman people, that the Gallic war did not break out at the ſame time with the Punic; and that the Gauls obſerving

* Plutarch is a little miſtaken here in his chronology. The firſt Punic war laſted twentyfour years, for it began in the year of Rome four hundred and eightynine, and peace was made with the Carthaginians in the year five hundred and twelve. The Gauls continued quiet all that time, and did not begin to ſtir till four years after. Then they advanced to Ariminum; but the Boii mutinying againſt their leaders, ſlew the kings Ates and Galates; after which the Gauls fell upon each other, and numbers were ſlain; they that ſurvived returned home. Five years after this, the Gauls began to prepare for a new war, on account of the diviſion which Flaminius had made of the lands in the Picene, taken from the Senones of Gallia Ciſalpina. Thoſe preparations were carrying on a long time; and it was eight years after that diviſion, before the war began in earneſt under their chiefs Congolitanus and Anerœſtes, when L. Æmilius Paupus and C. Atilius Regulus were conſuls, in the five hundred and twentyeighth year of Rome, and the third year of the one hundred and thirtyeighth Olympiad. *Polyb.* l. ii.

an exact neutrality all that time, as if they had waited to take up the conqueror, did not attack the Romans till they were victorious, and at leisure to receive them. However, this war was not a little alarming to the Romans, as well on account of the vicinity of the Gauls, as their character of old as warriors. They were, indeed, the enemy whom they dreaded most; for they had made themselves masters of Rome; and from that time it had been provided by law, that the priests should be exempted from bearing arms, except it were to defend the city against the Gauls.

The vast preparations they made were farther proofs of their fears (for it is said that so many thousands of Romans were never seen in arms either before or since;) and so were the new and extraordinary sacrifices which they offered. On other occasions, they had not adopted the rites of barbarous and savage nations, but their religious customs had been agreeable to the mild and merciful ceremonies of the Greeks; yet on the appearance of this war, they were forced to comply with certain oracles found in the books of the Sibyls; and thereupon they buried two Greeks,* a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, one of each sex, alive in the beast market. A thing that gave rise to certain private and mysterious rites, which still continue to be performed in the month of November.

In the beginning of the war the Romans sometimes gained great advantages, and sometimes were no less signally defeated; but there was no decisive action, till the consulate of Flaminius and Furius, who led a very powerful army against the Insubrians. Then we are told, the river which runs through the Picene, was seen flowing with blood, and that three moons appeared over the city of Ariminum.—But the priests who were to observe the flight of birds at the time of choosing consuls, affirmed that the election was faulty and inauspicious. The senate, therefore, immediately sent letters to the camp to recal the consuls, insisting that they should return without loss of time, and resign their office, and forbidding them to act at all against the enemy in consequence of their late appointment.

Flaminius having received these letters, deferred opening them till he had engaged and routed the barbarians,† and

* They offered the same sacrifice at the beginning of the second Punic war. *Liv.* l. xxii. 5 7.

† Faminius was not entitled to this success by his conduct. He gave battle with a river behind him, where there was not room for his

over run their country. Therefore, when he returned, loaded with ſpoils, the people did not go out to meet him; and becauſe he did not directly obey the order that recalled him, but treated it with contempt, he was in danger of loſing his triumph. As ſoon as the triumph was over, both he and his colleague were depoſed, and reduced to the rank of private citizens. So much regard had the Romans for religion, referring all their affairs to the good pleaſure of the gods, and, in their greateſt proſperity, not ſuffering any neglect of the forms of divination and other ſacred uſages; for they were fully perſuaded, that it was a matter of greater importance to the preſervation of their ſtate to have their generals obedient to the gods, than even to have them victorious in the field.

To this purpoſe, the following ſtory is remarkable:—Tiberius Sempronius, who was as much reſpected for his valor and probity as any man in Rome, while conſul, named Scipio Naſica and Caius Marcius his ſucceſſors. When they were gone into the provinces allotted them, Sempronius happening to meet with a book which contained the ſacred regulations for the conduct of war,* found that there was one particular which he never knew before. It was this: "When the conſul goes to take the auſpices "in a houſe or tent without the city, hired for that pur- "poſe, and is obliged by ſome neceſſary buſineſs to return "into the city before any ſure ſign appears to him, he muſt "not make uſe of that lodge again, but take another, and "there begin his obſervations anew." Sempronius was ignorant of this, when he named thoſe two conſuls, for he had twice made uſe of the ſame place; but when he perceived his error, he made the ſenate acquainted with it.

men to rally or retreat, if they had been broken. But poſſibly he might make ſuch a diſpoſition of his forces, to ſhow them that they muſt either conquer or die; for he knew that he was acting againſt the intentions of the ſenate, and that nothing but ſucceſs could bring him off. Indeed, he was naturally raſh and daring.

It was the ſkill and management of the legionary tribunes, which made amends for the conſul's imprudence. They diſtributed among the ſoldiers of the firſt line the pikes of the Triarii, to prevent the enemy from making uſe of their ſwords; and when the firſt ardor of the Gauls was over, they ordered the Romans to ſhorten their ſwords, cloſe with the enemy, ſo as to leave them no room to lift up their arms, and ſtab them; which they did without running any hazard themſelves, the ſwords of the Gauls having no points.

* στρατιωματικοις ὑπομνημασιν.

They, for their part, did not lightly paſs over ſo ſmall a defect, but wrote to the conſuls about it; who left their provinces, and returned with all ſpeed to Rome, where they laid down their offices. This did not happen till long after the affair of which we were ſpeaking.*

But about that very time, two prieſts of the beſt families in Rome, Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Sulpicius, were degraded from the prieſthood; the former, becauſe he did not preſent the entrails of the victim according to rule; and the latter, becauſe as he was ſacrificing, the tuft of his cap, which was ſuch an one as the *Flamines* wear, fell off. And becauſe the ſqueaking of a rat happened to be heard, at the moment that Minucius the dictator appointed Caius Flaminius his general of horſe, the people obliged them to quit their poſts, and appointed others in their ſtead. But while they obſerved theſe ſmall matters with ſuch exactneſs, they gave not into any ſort of ſuperſtition,† for they neither changed nor went beyond the ancient ceremonies.

Flaminius and his colleague being depoſed from the conſulſhip, the magiſtrates, called *Interreges*,‡ nominated Marcellus to that high office; who, when he entered upon it, took Cneius Cornelius for his colleague. Though the Gauls are ſaid to have been diſpoſed to a reconciliation, and the ſenate was peaceably inclined, yet the people, at the inſtigation of Marcellus, were for war. However, a peace was concluded; which ſeems to have been broke by the Geſatæ, who having paſſed the Alps, with thirty thouſand men, prevailed with the Inſubrians to join them with much greater numbers. Elated with their ſtrength, they marched immediately to Acerræ,‖ a city on the banks of the Po. There Viridomarus, king of the Geſatæ, took ten thouſand men from the main body, and with this party laid waſte all the country about the river.

When Marcellus was informed of their march, he left his colleague before Acerræ, with all the heavy armed in-

* Sixty years after.

† This word is here uſed in the literal ſenſe.

‡ Theſe were officers, who, when there were no legal magiſtrates in being, were appointed to hold the *comitia* for electing new ones. The title of *Interreges*, which was given them while the government was regal, was continued to them under the commonwealth.

‖ The Romans were beſieging Acerræ, and the Gauls went to relieve it; but finding themſelves unable to do that, they paſſed the Po with part of their army, and laid ſiege to Claſtidium to make a diverſion. *Polyb.* l. ii.

fantry, and the third part of the horſe; and taking with him the reſt of the cavalry, and about ſix hundred of the light armed foot, he ſet out, and kept forward day and night, till he came up with the ten thouſand Geſatæ near Claſtidium,* a little town of the Gauls, which had very lately ſubmitted to the Romans. He had not time to give his troops any reſt or refreſhment; for the barbarians immediately perceived his approach, and deſpiſed his attempt, as he had but a handful of infantry, and they made no account of his cavalry. Theſe, as well as all the other Gauls, being ſkilled in fighting on horſeback, thought they had the advantage in this reſpect; and, beſides, they greatly exceeded Marcellus in numbers. They marched, therefore, directly againſt him, their king at their head, with great impetuoſity and dreadful menaces, as if ſure of cruſhing him at once. Marcellus, becauſe his party was but ſmall, to prevent its being ſurrounded, extended the wings of his cavalry, thinning and widening the line, till he preſented a front nearly equal to that of the enemy. He was now advancing to the charge, when his horſe, terrified with the ſhouts of the Gauls, turned ſhort, and forcibly carried him back. Marcellus fearing that this, interpreted by ſuperſtition, ſhould cauſe ſome diſorder in his troops, quickly turned his horſe again towards the enemy, and then paid his adorations to the ſun; as if that movement had been made, not by accident but deſign, for the Romans always turn round when they worſhip the gods. Upon the point of engaging, he vowed to Jupiter *Feretrius* the choiceſt of the enemy's arms. In the mean time, the king of the Gauls ſpied him, and judging by the enſigns of authority that he was the conſul, he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and advanced a conſiderable way before the reſt, brandiſhing his ſpear, and loudly challenging him to the combat. He was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Gauls by his ſtature, as well as by his armor, which, being ſet off with gold and ſilver, and the moſt lively colors, ſhone like lightning. As Marcellus was viewing the diſpoſition of the enemy's forces, he caſt his eyes upon this rich ſuit of armor, and concluding that in it his vow to Jupiter would be accompliſhed, he ruſhed upon the Gaul, and pierced his breaſt plate with his ſpear; which ſtroke, together with the weight and force of the conſul's horſe, brought him to the ground, and with two

* Livy places this town in Liguria Montana.

or three more blows he deſpatched him. He then leaped from his horſe and diſarmed him, and lifting up his ſpoils towards heaven, he ſaid, "O Jupiter *Feretrius*, who ob-"ſerveſt the deeds of great warriors and generals in battle, "I now call thee to witneſs, that I am the third Roman "conſul and general who have, with my own hands, ſlain "a general and a king! To thee I conſecrate the moſt "excellent ſpoils. Do thou grant us equal ſucceſs in the "proſecution of this war."

When this prayer was ended, the Roman cavalry encountered both the enemy's horſe and foot at the ſame time, and gained a victory; not only great in itſelf, but peculiar in its kind; for we have no account of ſuch a handful of cavalry beating ſuch numbers, both of horſe and foot, either before or ſince. Marcellus having killed the greateſt part of the enemy, and taken their arms and baggage, returned to his colleague,* who had no ſuch good ſucceſs againſt the Gauls before Milan, which is a great and populous city, and the metropolis of that country. For this reaſon the Gauls defended it with ſuch ſpirit and reſolution, that Scipio, inſtead of beſieging it, ſeemed rather beſieged himſelf. But upon the return of Marcellus, the Geſatæ, underſtanding that their king was ſlain, and his army defeated, drew off their forces; and ſo Milan was taken;† and the Gauls ſurrendering the reſt of their cities, and referring every thing to the equity of the Romans, obtained reaſonable conditions of peace.

The ſenate decreed a triumph to Marcellus only; and, whether we conſider the rich ſpoils that were diſplayed in it, the prodigious ſize of the captives, or the magnificence with which the whole was conducted, it was one of the moſt ſpendid that were ever ſeen. But the moſt agreeable and moſt uncommon ſpectacle was Marcellus himſelf, carrying the armor of Viridomarus, which he vowed to Jupiter. He had cut the trunk of an oak in the form of a trophy, which he adorned with the ſpoils of that barbarian, placing every part of his arms in handſome order. When the proceſſion began to move, he mounted his chariot, which was drawn by four horſes, and paſſed through the city with

* During the abſence of Marcellus, Acerræ had been taken by his colleague Scipio, who from thence had marched to inveſt Mediolanum, or Milan.

† Comum, alſo, another city of great importance, ſurrendered. Thus all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian ſea, became entirely Roman.

the trophy on his ſhoulders, which was the nobleſt ornament of the whole triumph. The army followed, clad in elegant armor, and ſinging odes compoſed for that occaſion, and other ſongs of triumph, in honor of Jupiter and their general.

When he came to the temple of Jupiter *Feretrius*, he ſet up and conſecrated the trophy, being the third and laſt general, who as yet has been ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed. The firſt was Romulus, after he had ſlain Acron, king of the Cæninenſes; Cornelius Coſſus, who ſlew Volumnius the Tuſcan, was the ſecond; and the third and laſt was Marcellus, who killed with his own hand Viridomarus king of the Gauls. The god to whom theſe ſpoils were devoted, was Jupiter, ſurnamed *Feretrius*, (as ſome ſay) from the Greek word *Pheretron*, which ſignifies *a car*, for the trophy was borne on ſuch a carriage, and the Greek language at that time was much mixed with the Latin. Others ſay, Jupiter had that appellation, becauſe he *ſtrikes with lightning*, for the Latin word *ferire* ſignifies *to ſtrike*. Others again will have it, that it is on account of the ſtrokes which are given in battle; for even now, when the Romans charge or purſue an enemy, they encourage each other by calling out, *feri, feri*, ſtrike, ſtrike them down. What they take from the enemy in the field, they call by the general name of *ſpoils*, but theſe which a Roman general takes from the general of the enemy, they call *opime ſpoils*. It is indeed ſaid, that Numa Pompilius, in his Commentaries, makes mention of *opime ſpoils* of the firſt, ſecond, and third order; that he directed the firſt to be conſecrated to Jupiter, the ſecond to Mars, and the third to Quirinus; and that the perſons who took the firſt ſhould be rewarded with three hundred *aſes*, the ſecond with two hundred, and the third with one hundred. But the moſt received opinion is, that thoſe of the firſt ſort only ſhould be honored with the name of *opime*, which a general takes in a pitched battle, when he kills the enemy's general with his own hand. But enough of this matter.

The Romans thought themſelves ſo happy in the glorious period put to this war, that they made an offering to Apollo at Delphi, of a golden cup, in teſtimony of their gratitude; they alſo liberally ſhared the ſpoils with the confederate cities, and made a very handſome preſent out of them to Hiero king of Syracuſe, their friend and ally.

Some time after this, Hannibal having entered Italy, Marcellus was ſent with a fleet to Sicily. The war contin-

ued to rage, and that unfortunate blow was received at Cannæ, by which many thouſands of Romans fell. The few that eſcaped, fled to Canuſium; and it was expected that Hannibal, who had thus deſtroyed the ſtrength of the Roman forces, would march directly to Rome. Hereupon, Marcellus firſt ſent fifteen hundred of his men to guard the city; and afterwards by order of the ſenate, he went to Canuſium, drew out the troops that had retired thither, and marched at their head to keep the country from being ravaged by the enemy.

The wars had by this time carried off the chief of the Roman nobility, and moſt of their beſt officers. Still, indeed, there remained Fabius Maximus, a man highly reſpected for his probity and prudence; but his extraordinary attention to the avoiding of loſs, paſſed for want of ſpirit and incapacity for action. The Romans, therefore, conſidering him as a proper perſon for the defenſive, but not the offenſive part of war, had recourſe to Marcellus; and wiſely tempering his boldneſs and activity with the ſlow and cautious conduct of Fabius, they ſometimes appointed them conſuls together, and ſometimes ſent out the one in the quality of conſul, and the other in that of proconſul. Poſidonius tells us, that Fabius was called *the buckler*, and Marcellus *the ſword*; but Hannibal himſelf ſaid, "He ſtood in fear of Fabius as his ſchoolmaſter, and "of Marcellus as his adverſary; for he received hurt "from the latter, and the former prevented his doing hurt "himſelf."

Hannibal's ſoldiers, elated with their victory, grew careleſs, and ſtraggling from the camp, roamed about the country; where Marcellus fell upon them, and cut off great numbers. After this, he went to the relief of Naples and Nola. The Neapolitans he confirmed in the Roman intereſt, to which they were themſelves well inclined; but when he entered Nola, he found great diviſions there, the ſenate of that city being unable to reſtrain the commonalty who were attached to Hannibal. There was a citizen in this place named Bandius,* well born and celebrated for his valor; for he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battle of Cannæ, where, after killing a number of Carthaginians, he was found at laſt upon a heap of dead bodies, covered with wounds. Hannibal admiring his bravery, diſmiſſed him not only without ranſom, but with handſome preſents,

* Or Bantius.

honoring him with his friendſhip and admiſſion to the rights of hoſpitality. Bandius, in gratitude for theſe favors, heartily eſpouſed the party of Hannibal, and by his authority drew the people on to a revolt. Marcellus thought it wrong to put a man to death, who had glorioufly fought the battles of Rome. Beſides, the general had ſo engaging a manner grafted upon his native humanity, that he could hardly fail of attracting the regards of a man of a great and generous ſpirit. One day, Bandius happening to ſalute him, Marcellus aſked who he was; not that he was a ſtranger to his perſon, but that he might have an opportunity to introduce what he had to ſay. Being told, his name was Lucius Bandius, "What!" ſays Marcellus, in ſeeming admiration, "that Bandius who has been ſo much "talked of in Rome for his gallant behavior at Cannæ, "who indeed was the only man that did not abandon the "conſul Æmilius, but received in his own body moſt of "the ſhafts that were aimed at him!" Bandius ſaying, he was the very perſon, and ſhowing ſome of his ſcars, "Why then," replied Marcellus, "when you bore about "you ſuch marks of your regard for us, did not you come "to us one of the firſt? Do we ſeem to you ſlow to reward "the virtue of a friend, who is honored even by his "enemies?" After this obliging diſcourſe, he embraced him, and made him a preſent of a warhorſe, and five hundred drachmas in ſilver.

From this time Bandius was very cordially attached to Marcellus, and conſtantly informed him of the proceedings of the oppoſite party, who were very numerous, and who had reſolved, when the Romans marched out againſt the enemy, to plunder their baggage. Hereupon Marcellus drew up his forces in order of battle within the city, placed the baggage near the gates, and publiſhed an edict, forbidding the inhabitants to appear upon the walls. Hannibal ſeeing no hoſtile appearance, concluded that every thing was in great diſorder in the city, and therefore he approached it with little precaution. At this moment Marcellus commanded the gate that was next him to be opened, and ſallying out with the beſt of his cavalry, he charged the enemy in front. Soon after, the infantry ruſhed out at another gate with loud ſhouts. And while Hannibal was dividing his forces, to oppoſe theſe two parties, a third gate was opened, and the reſt of the Roman troops iſſuing out, attacked the enemy on another ſide,

who were greatly diſconcerted at ſuch an unexpected ſally, and who made but a faint reſiſtance againſt thoſe with whom they were firſt engaged, by reaſon of their being fallen upon by another body.

Then it was that Hannibal's men, ſtruck with terror, and covered with wounds, firſt gave back before the Romans, and were driven to their camp. Above five thouſand of them are ſaid to have been ſlain, whereas of the Romans there fell not more than five hundred. Livy does not, indeed, make this defeat and loſs on the Carthaginian ſide to have been ſo conſiderable; he only affirms that Marcellus gained great honor by this battle, and that the courage of the Romans was wonderfully reſtored after all their misfortunes, who now no longer believed that they had to do with an enemy that was invincible, but one who was liable to ſuffer in his turn.

For this reaſon, the people called Marcellus, though abſent, to fill the place of one of the conſuls* who was dead, and prevailed, againſt the ſenſe of the magiſtrates, to have the election put off till his return. Upon his arrival, he was unanimouſly choſen conſul; but it happening to thunder at that time, the augurs ſaw that the omen was unfortunate; and, as they did not chooſe to declare it ſuch, for fear of the people,† Marcellus voluntarily laid down the office. Notwithſtanding this, he had the command of the army continued to him, in quality of proconſul, and returned immediately to Nola, from whence he made excurſions to chaſtiſe thoſe that had declared for the Carthaginians. Hannibal made haſte to their aſſiſtance, and offered him battle, which he declined. But ſome days after, when he ſaw that Hannibal, no longer expecting a battle, had ſent out the greateſt part of his army to plunder

* This was Poſthumius Albinus, who was cut off with all his army by the Boii, in a vaſt foreſt called by the Gauls the foreſt of Litana. It ſeems they had cut all the trees near the road he was to paſs in ſuch a manner that they might be tumbled upon his army with the leaſt motion.

† Marcellus was a plebeian, as was alſo his colleague Sempronius; and the patricians, unwilling to ſee two plebeians conſuls at the ſame time, influenced the augurs to pronouce the election of Marcellus diſagreeable to the gods. But the people would not have acquieſced in the declaration of the augurs, had not Marcellus ſhowed himſelf on this occaſion as zealous a republican, as he was a great commander, and refuſed that honor which had not the ſanction of all his fellow citizens.

the country, he attacked him vigorouſly, having firſt provided the foot with long ſpears, ſuch as they uſe in ſea-fights, which they were taught to hurl at the Carthaginians at a diſtance, who, for their part, were not ſkilled in the uſe of the javelin, and only fought hand to hand, with ſhort ſwords. For this reaſon all that attempted to make head againſt the Romans, were obliged to give way, and fly in great confuſion, leaving five thouſand men ſlain upon the field; * beſide the loſs of four elephants killed, and two taken. What was of ſtill greater importance, the third day after the battle, † above three hundred horſe, Spaniards and Numidians, came over to Marcellus. A misfortune which never before happened to Hannibal; for though his army was collected from ſeveral barbarous nations, different both in their manners and their language, yet he had a long time preſerved a perfect unanimity thoughout the whole. This body of horſe ever continued faithful to Marcellus, and thoſe that ſucceeded him in the command. ‡

Marcellus, being appointed conſul the third time, paſſed over into Sicily. ‖ For Hannibal's great ſucceſs had encouraged the Carthaginians again to ſupport their claim to that iſland; and they did it the rather, becauſe the affairs of Syracuſe were in ſome confuſion upon the death of Hieronymus, § its ſovereign. On this account the Romans had already ſent an army thither under the command of Appius Claudius. **

* On the Roman ſide there were not a thouſand killed. *Liv.* lib. xxiii. c. 46.

† Livy makes them a thouſand two hundred and ſeventytwo. It is therefore probable that we ſhould read in this place, *one thouſand three hundred horſe.*

‡ Marcellus beat Hannibal a third time before Nola; and had Claudius Nero, who was ſent out to take a circuit, and attack the Carthaginians in the rear, come up in time, that day would probably have made reprisals for the loſs ſuſtained at Cannæ. *Liv.* lib. xxiv. c. 17.

‖ In the ſecond year of the hundred and fortyfirſt Olympiad, the five hundred and thirtyninth of Rome, and two hundred and twelve years before the birth of Chriſt.

§ Hieronymus was murdered by his own ſubjects at Leontium, the conſpirators having prevailed on Dinomanes, one of his guards, to favor their attack. He was the ſon of Gelo, and the grandſon of Hiero. His father Gelo died firſt, and afterwards his grandfather, being ninety years old; and Hieronymus, who was not then fifteen, was ſlain ſome months after. Theſe three deaths happened towards the latter end of the year that preceeded Marcellus's third conſulate.

** Appius Claudius, who was ſent into Sicily in quality of prætor, was there before the death of Hieronymus. That young prince, having

The command devolving upon Marcellus, he was no ſooner arrived in Sicily, than a great number of Romans came to throw themſelves at his feet, and repreſent to him their diſtreſs. Of thoſe that fought againſt Hannibal at Cannæ, ſome eſcaped by flight, and others were taken priſoners; the latter in ſuch numbers, that it was thought the Romans muſt want men to defend the walls of their capital. Yet that commonwealth had ſo much firmneſs and elevation of mind, that, though Hannibal offered to releaſe the priſoners for a very inconſiderable ranſom, they refuſed it by a public act, and left them to be put to death or ſold out of Italy. As for thoſe that had ſaved themſelves by flight, they ſent them into Sicily, with an order not to ſet foot on Italian ground during the war with Hannibal. Theſe came to Marcellus in a body, and falling on their knees, begged with loud lamentations and floods of tears, the favor of being admitted again into the army, promiſing to make it appear by their future behavior, that that defeat was owing to their misfortune, and not to their cowardice. Marcellus, moved with compaſſion, wrote to the ſenate, deſiring leave to recruit his army with theſe exiles, as he ſhould find occaſion. After much deliberation, the ſenate ſignified by a decree, "That the commonwealth had no "need of the ſervice of cowards; that Marcellus, however, "might employ them if he pleaſed, but on condition that "he did not beſtow upon any of them crowns or other "honorary rewards." This decree gave Marcellus ſome uneaſineſs, and after his return from the war in Sicily, he expoſtulated with the ſenate, and complained, "That for "all his ſervices they would not allow him to reſcue from "infamy thoſe unfortunate citizens."

His firſt care, after he arrived in Sicily, was to make repriſals for the injury received from Hippocrates, the Syracuſan general, who, to gratify the Carthaginians, and by their means to ſet himſelf up tyrant, had attacked the

a turn for raillery, only laughed at the Roman ambaſſadors: "I "will aſk you," ſaid he, "but one queſtion; who were conquerors "at Cannæ, you or the Carthaginians? I am told ſuch ſurpriſing "things of that battle, that I ſhould be glad to know all the partic-"ulars of it." And again, "Let the Romans reſtore all the gold, "the corn, and the other preſents that they drew from my grand-"father, and conſent that the river Himera be the common boun-"dary between us, and I will renew the antient treaties with them." Some writers are of opinion that the Roman prætor was not entirely unconcerned in a plot which was ſo uſeful to his republic.

Romans, and killed great numbers of them, in the diſtrict of Leontium. Marcellus, therefore, laid ſiege to that city, and took it by ſtorm, but did no harm to the inhabitants; only ſuch deſerters as he found there, he ordered to be beaten with rods, and then put to death. Hippocrates took care to give the Syracuſans the firſt notice of the taking of Leontium, aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that Marcellus had put to the ſword all that were able to bear arms; and while they were under great conſternation at this news, he came ſuddenly upon the city, and made himſelf maſter of it.

Hereupon, Marcellus marched with his whole army, and encamped before Syracuſe. But before he attempted any thing againſt it, he ſent ambaſſadors with a true account of what he had done at Leontium. As this information had no effect with the Syracuſans, who were entirely in the power of Hippocrates,* he made his attacks both by ſea and land, Appius Claudius commanding the land forces, and himſelf the fleet, which conſiſted of ſixty galleys, of five banks of oars, full of all ſorts of arms and miſſive weapons. Beſides theſe, he had a prodigious machine, carried upon eight galleys faſtened together, with which he approached the walls, relying upon the number of his batteries and other inſtruments of war, as well as on his own great character. But Archimedes deſpiſed all this; and confided in the ſuperiority of his engines; though he did not think the inventing of them an object worthy of his ſerious ſtudies, but only reckoned them among the amuſements of geometry. Nor had he gone ſo far, but at the preſſing inſtances of king Hiero, who entreated him to turn his art from abſtracted notions, to matters of ſenſe, and to make his reaſonings more intelligible to the generality of mankind, applying them to the uſes of common life.

The firſt that turned their thoughts to *mechanics*, a branch of knowledge which came afterwards to be ſo much admired, were Eudoxus and Archytas, who thus gave a variety and an agreeable turn to geometry, and confirmed certain problems by ſenſible experiments, and the uſe of inſtruments,

* Hieronymus being aſſaſſinated, and the commonwealth reſtored, Hippocrates and Epicydes, Hannibal's agents, being of Syracuſan extraction, had the addreſs to get themſelves admitted into the number of prætors. In conſequence of which, they found means to embroil the Syracuſans with Rome, in ſpite of the oppoſition of ſuch of the prætors as had the intereſt of their country at heart.

which could not be demonſtrated in the way of theorem. That problem, for example, of two mean proportional lines, which cannot be found out geometrically, and yet are ſo neceſſary for the ſolution of other queſtions, they ſolved mechanically, by the aſſiſtance of certain inſtruments called *meſolabes*, taken from conic ſections. But when Plato inveighed againſt them, with great indignation, as corrupting and debaſing the excellence of geometry, by making her deſcend from incorporeal and intellectual, to corporeal and ſenſible things, and obliging her to make uſe of matter, which requires much manual labor, and is the object of ſervile trades; then *mechanics* were ſeparated from geometry, and being a long time deſpiſed by the philoſopher, were conſidered as a branch of the military art.

Be that as it may, Archimedes one day aſſerted to king Hiero, whoſe kinſman and friend he was, this propoſition, that with a given power he could move any given weight whatever; nay, it is ſaid, from the confidence he had in his demonſtration, he ventured to affirm, that if there was another earth beſides this we inhabit,* by going into that, he would move this wherever he pleaſed. Hiero, full of wonder, begged of him to evince the truth of his propoſition, by moving ſome great weight with a ſmall power. In compliance with which, Archimedes cauſed one of the king's galleys to be drawn on ſhore with many hands and much labor; and having well manned her, and put on board her uſual loading, he placed himſelf at a diſtance, and without any pains, only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which conſiſted of a variety of ropes and pulleys, he drew her to him in as ſmooth and gentle a manner as if ſhe had been under ſail. The king quite aſtoniſhed when he ſaw the force of his art, prevailed with Archimedes to make for him all manner of engines and machines which could be uſed either for attack or defence in a ſiege. Theſe, however, he never made uſe of, the greateſt part of his reign being bleſt with tranquility; but they were extremely ſerviceable to the Syracuſans on the preſent occaſion, who, with ſuch a number of machines, had the inventor to direct them.

When the Romans attacked them both by ſea and land, they were ſtruck dumb with terror, imagining they could

* Tzetes gives us the expreſſion which Archimedes made uſe of, τω Θε, και χαριστωνι την γαν κινησω πασαν.

not poſſibly reſiſt ſuch numerous forces and ſo furious an aſſault. But Archimedes ſoon began to play his engines, and they ſhot againſt the land forces all ſorts of miſſive weapons and ſtones of an enormous ſize, with ſo incredible a noiſe and rapidity, that nothing could ſtand before them; they overturned and cruſhed whatever came in their way, and ſpread terrible diſorder throughout the ranks. On the ſide towards the ſea were erected vaſt machines, putting forth on a ſudden, over the walls, huge beams with the neceſſary tackle,* which ſtriking with a prodigious force on the enemy's galleys, ſunk them at once; while other ſhips hoiſted up at the prows by iron grapples or hooks,† like the beaks of cranes, and ſet an end on the ſtern, were plunged to the bottom of the ſea; and others again, by ropes and grapples were drawn towards the ſhore, and after being whirled about, and daſhed againſt the rocks that projected below the walls, were broken to pieces, and the crews periſhed. Very often a ſhip lifted high above the ſea, ſuſpended and twirling in the air, preſented a moſt dreadful ſpectacle. There it ſwung till the men were thrown out by the violence of the motion, and then it ſplit againſt the walls, or ſunk on the engine's letting go its hold. As for the machine which Marcellus brought forward upon eight galleys, and which was called *ſambuca* on account of its likeneſs to the muſical inſtrument of that name, whilſt it was at a conſiderable diſtance from the walls, Archimedes diſcharged a ſtone of ten talents weight,‡ and

* Κεραιαι.

† What moſt haraſſed the Romans, was a ſort of crow with two claws, faſtened to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall, with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the galleys. Then the beſieged, by a great weight of lead at the other end of the lever, weighed it down, and conſequently raiſed up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the galley to which it was faſtened, ſinking the poop at the ſame time into the water. After this the crow letting go its hold all on a ſudden, the prow of the galley fell with ſuch force into the ſea, that the whole veſſel was filled with water, and ſunk.

‡ It is not eaſy to conceive how the machines formed by Archimedes could throw ſtones of ten quintals or talents, that is, twelve hundred and fifty pounds weight, at the ſhips of Marcellus, when they were at a conſiderable diſtance from the walls. The account which Polybius give us is much more probable. He ſays that the ſtones that were thrown by the *baliſtæ* made by Archimedes, were of the weight of ten pounds. Livy ſeems to agree with Polybius. Indeed, if we ſuppoſe that Plutarch did not mean the talent of an hundred and twenty-five

after that a ſecond and a third, all which ſtriking upon it with an amazing noiſe and force, ſhattered and totally disjointed it.

Marcellus, in this diſtreſs, drew off his galleys as faſt as poſſible, and ſent orders to the land forces to retreat likewiſe. He then called a council of war, in which it was reſolved, to come cloſe to the walls, if it was poſſible, next morning before day. For Archimedes's engines they thought, being very ſtrong, and intended to act at a conſiderable diſtance, would then diſcharge themſelves over their heads; and if they were pointed at them when they were ſo near, they would have no effect. But for this Archimedes had long been prepared, having by him engines fitted to all diſtances, with ſuitable weapons and ſhorter beams. Beſides, he had cauſed holes to be made in the walls, in which he placed *ſcorpions*, that did not carry far, but could be very faſt diſcharged; and by theſe the enemy was galled, without knowing whence the weapon came.

When, therefore, the Romans were got cloſe to the walls, undiſcovered, as they thought, they were welcomed with a ſhower of darts, and huge pieces of rocks, which fell as it were perpendicularly upon their heads; for the engines played from every quarter of the walls. This obliged them to retire; and when they were at ſome diſtance, other ſhafts were ſhot at them, in their retreat, from the larger machines, which made terrible havoc among them, as well as greatly damaged their ſhipping, without any poſſibility of their annoying the Syracuſans in their turn. For Archimedes had placed moſt of his engines under covert of the walls; ſo that the Romans, being infinitely diſtreſſed by an inviſible enemy, ſeemed to fight againſt the gods.

Marcellus, however, got off, and laughed at his own artillery men and engineers. "Why do not we leave off "contending," ſaid he, "with this mathematical Briareus, "who ſitting on the ſhore, and acting as it were but in jeſt, "has ſhamefully baffled our naval aſſault; and, in ſtriking "us with ſuch a multitude of bolts at once, exceeds even "the hundred handed giants in the fable?" And, in truth, all the reſt of the Syracuſans were no more than the body in the batteries of Archimedes, while he himſelf was

pounds, but the talent of Sicily, which ſome ſay weighed twenty-five pounds, and others only ten, his account comes more within the bounds of probability.

the informing ſoul. All other weapons lay idle and unemployed; his were the only offenſive and defenſive arms of the city. At laſt the Romans were ſo terrified, that if they ſaw but a rope or a ſtick put over the walls, they cried out that Archimedes was levelling ſome machine at them, and turned their backs and fled. Marcellus ſeeing this, gave up all thoughts of proceeding by aſſault, and leaving the matter to time, turned the ſiege into a blockade.

Yet Archimedes had ſuch a depth of underſtanding, ſuch a dignity of ſentiment, and ſo copious a fund of mathematical knowledge, that, though in the invention of theſe machines he gained the reputation of a man endowed with divine rather than human knowledge, yet he did not vouchſafe to leave any account of them in writing. For he conſidered all attention to *mechanics*, and every art that miniſters to common uſes, as mean and ſordid, and placed his whole delight in thoſe intellectual ſpeculations, which, without any relation to the neceſſities of life, have an intrinſic excellence ariſing from truth and demonſtration only. Indeed, if mechanical knowledge is valuable for the curious frame and amazing power of thoſe machines which it produces, the other infinitely excels on account of its invincible force and conviction. And certainly it is, that abſtruſe and profound queſtions in geometry, are no where ſolved by a more ſimple proceſs and upon clearer principles, than in the writings of Archimedes. Some aſcribe this to the acuteneſs of his genius, and others to his indefatigable induſtry, by which he made things that coſt a great deal of pains appear unlabored and eaſy. In fact, it is almoſt impoſſible for a man of himſelf to find out the demonſtration of his propoſitions, but as ſoon as he has learned it from him, he will think he could have done it without aſſiſtance; ſuch a ready and eaſy way does he lead us to what he wants to prove. We are not, therefore, to reject as incredible, what is related of him, that being perpetually charmed by a domeſtic ſyren, that is, his geometry, he neglected his meat and drink, and took no care of his perſon; that he was often carried by force to the baths, and when there, he would make mathematical figures in the aſhes, and with his finger draw lines upon his body, when it was anointed; ſo much was he tranſported with intellectual delight, ſuch an enthuſiaſt in ſcience. And though he was the author of many curious and excellent diſcoveries, yet he is ſaid to have deſired his friends only to place on

his tombſtone a cylinder containing a ſphere,* and to ſet down the proportion which the containing ſolid bears to the contained. Such was Archimedes, who exerted all his ſkill to defend himſelf and the town againſt the Romans.

During the ſiege of Syracuſe, Marcellus went againſt Megara, one of the moſt antient cities of Sicily, and took it. He alſo fell upon Hippocrates, as he was entrenching himſelf at Acrillæ, and killed above eight thouſand of his men.† Nay, he over ran the greateſt part of Sicily, brought over ſeveral cities from the Carthaginian intereſt, and beat all that attempted to face him in the field.

Some time after, when he returned to Syracuſe, he ſurpriſed one Damippus a Spartan, as he was ſailing out of the harbor; and the Syracuſans being very deſirous to ranſom him, ſeveral conferences were held about it; in one of which Marcellus took notice of a tower, but ſlightly guarded, into which a number of men might be privately conveyed, the wall that led to it being eaſy to be ſcaled. As they often met to confer at the foot of this tower, he made a good eſtimate of its height, and provided himſelf with proper ſcaling ladders; and obſerving that on the feſtival of Diana the Syracuſans drank freely and gave a looſe to mirth, he not only poſſeſſed himſelf of the tower,

* Cicero, when he was quæſtor in Sicily, diſcovered this monument, and ſhowed it to the Syracuſans, who knew not that it was in being. He ſays there were verſes inſcribed upon it, expreſſing that a cylinder and a ſphere had been put upon the tomb; the proportion between which two ſolids Archimedes firſt diſcovered. From the death of this great mathematician, which fell out in the year of Rome five hundred and ſortytwo, to the quæſtorſhip of Cicero, which was in the year of Rome ſix hundred and ſeventyeight, an hundred and thirtyſix years were elapſed. Though time had not quite obliterated the cylinder and the ſphere, it had put an end to the learning of Syracuſe, once ſo reſpectable in the republic of letters.

† Himilco had entered the port of Heraclea with a numerous fleet ſent from Carthage, and landed twenty thouſand foot, three thouſand horſe, and twelve elephants. His forces were no ſooner ſet aſhore than he marched againſt Agrigentum, which he retook from the Romans, with ſeveral other cities lately reduced by Marcellus. Hereupon the Syracuſan garriſon, which was yet entire, determined to ſend out Hippocrates with ten thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, to join Himilco. Marcellus, after having made a vain attempt upon Agrigentum, was returning to Syracuſe. As he drew near Acrillæ, he unexpectedly diſcovered Hippocrates buſy in fortifying his camp, fell upon him before he had time to draw up his army, and cut eight thouſand of them in pieces.

undiſcovered, but before daylight filled the walls of that quarter with ſoldiers, and forcibly entered the Hexapylum. The Syracuſans, as ſoon as they perceived it, began to move about in great confuſion; but Marcellus ordering all the trumpets to ſound at once, they were ſeized with conſternation, and betook themſelves to flight, believing that the whole city was loſt. However, the Achradina, which was the ſtrongeſt, the moſt extenſive, and faireſt part of it, was not taken, being divided by walls from the reſt of the city, one part of which was called Neapolis, and the other Tyche. The enterpriſe thus proſpering, Marcellus at day-break moved down from the Hexapylum into the city, where he was congratulated by his officers on the great event.* But it is ſaid, that he himſelf, when he ſurveyed from an eminence that great and magnificent city, ſhed many tears, in pity of its impending fate, reflecting into what a ſcene of miſery and deſolation its fair appearance would be changed, when it came to be ſacked and plundered by the ſoldiers. For the troops demanded the plunder, and not one of the officers durſt oppoſe it. Many even inſiſted that the city ſhould be burnt and levelled with the ground; but to this Marcellus abſolutely refuſed his conſent. It was with reluctance that he gave up the effects and the ſlaves; and he ſtrictly charged the ſoldiers not to touch any free man or woman, nor to kill, or abuſe, or make a ſlave of any citizen whatever.

But though he acted with ſo much moderation, the city had harder meaſure than he wiſhed, and amidſt the great and general joy, his ſoul ſympathized with its ſufferings, when he conſidered that in a few hours the proſperity of ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate would be no more. It is even ſaid, that the plunder of Syracuſe was as rich as that of Carthage after it.† For the reſt of the city was ſoon betrayed to the

* Epipolæ was entered in the night, and Tyche next morning. Epipolæ was encompaſſed with the ſame wall as Ortygia, Achradina, Tyche, and Neapolis; had its own citadel called Euryalum on the top of a ſteep rock, and was, as we may ſay, a fifth city.

† The ſiege of Syracuſe laſted in the whole three years; no ſmall part of which paſſed after Marcellus entered Tyche. As Plutarch has run ſo ſlightly over the ſubſequent events, it may not be amiſs to give a ſummary detail of them from Livy.

Epicydes, who had his head quarters in the fartheſt part of Ortygia, hearing that the Romans had ſeized on Epipolæ and Tyche, went to drive them from their poſts; but finding much greater numbers than he expected, got into the town, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh he retired.

Romans, and pillaged; only the royal treaſure was preſerved, and carried into the public treaſury at Rome.

But what moſt of all afflicted Marcellus, was the unhappy fate of Archimedes; who was at that time in his ſtudy,

Marcellus, unwilling to deſtroy the city, tried gentle methods with the inhabitants; but the Syracuſans rejected his propoſals; and their general appointed the Roman deſerters to guard Achradina, which they did with extreme care, knowing, that if the town were taken by compoſition they muſt die. Marcellus then turned his arms againſt the fortreſs of Euryalum, which he hoped to reduce in a ſhort time by famine. Philodemus, who commanded there, kept him in play ſome time, in hope of ſuccors from Hippocrates and Himilco; but finding himſelf diſappointed, he ſurrendered the place on condition of being allowed to march out with his men, and join Epicydes. Marcellus, now maſter of Euryalum, blocked up Achradina ſo cloſe, that it could not hold out long without new ſupplies of men and proviſions. But Hippocrates and Himilco ſoon arrived; and it was reſolved that Hippocrates ſhould attack the old camp of the Romans without the walls, commanded by Criſpinus, while Epicydes ſallied out upon Marcellus. Hippocrates was vigorouſly repulſed by Criſpinus, who purſued him up to his entrenchments; and Epicydes was forced to return into Achradina with great loſs, and narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner by Marcellus. The unfortunate Syracuſans were now in the greateſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions; and to complete their miſery, a plague broke out among them; of which Himilco and Hippocrates died, with many thouſands more. Hereupon Bomilcar ſailed to Carthage again for freſh ſupplies; and returned to Sicily with a large fleet; but hearing of the great preparations of the Romans at ſea, and probably fearing the event of a battle, he unexpectedly ſteered away. Epicydes, who was gone out to meet him, was afraid to return into a city half taken, and therefore fled for refuge to Agrigentum. The Syracuſans then aſſaſſinated the governors left by Epicydes, and propoſed to ſubmit to Marcellus. For which purpoſe they ſent deputies, who were graciouſly received. But the garriſon, which conſiſted of Roman deſerters and Mercenaries, raiſing freſh diſturbances, killed the officers appointed by the Syracuſans, and choſe ſix new ones of their own. Among theſe was a Spaniard named Mexicus, a man of great integrity, who diſapproving of the cruelties of his party, determined to give up the place to Marcellus. In purſuance of which, under pretences of greater care than ordinary, he deſired that each governor might have the ſole direction in his own quarter; which gave him an opportunity to open the gate of Arethuſa to the Roman general. And now Marcellus being at length become maſter of the unfaithful city, gave ſignal proofs of his clemency and good nature. He ſuffered the Roman deſerters to eſcape; for he was unwilling to ſhed the blood even of traitors. No wonder then if he ſpared the lives of the Syracuſans and their children; though, as he told them, the ſervices which good king Hiero had rendered Rome were exceeded by the inſults they had offered her in a few years.

engaged in ſome mathematical reſearches; and his mind, as well as his eye, was ſo intent upon his diagram, that he neither heard the tumultuous noiſe of the Romans, nor perceived that the city was taken. A ſoldier ſuddenly entered his room, and ordered him to follow him to Marcellus; and Archimedes refuſing to do it, till he had finiſhed his problem, and brought his demonſtration to bear, the ſoldier, in a paſſion, drew his ſword and killed him. Others ſay, the ſoldier came up to him at firſt with a drawn ſword to kill him, and Archimedes perceiving him, begged he would hold his hand a moment, that he might not leave his theorem imperfect; but the ſoldier, neither regarding him nor his theorem, laid him dead at his feet. A third account of the matter is, that, as Archimedes was carrying in a box ſome mathematical inſtruments to Marcellus, as ſundials, ſpheres, and quadrants, by which the eye might meaſure the magnitude of the ſun, ſome ſoldiers met him, and imagining that there was gold in the box, took away his life for it. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that Marcellus was much concerned at his death; that he turned away his face from his murderer, as from an impious and execrable perſon; and that having by inquiry found out his relations, he beſtowed upon them many ſignal favors.

Hitherto the Romans had ſhown other nations their abilities to plan, and their courage to execute, but they had given them no proof of their clemency, their humanity, or, in one word, of their political virtue. Marcellus ſeems to have been the firſt, who made it appear, to the Greeks, that the Romans had greater regard to equity than they. For ſuch was his goodneſs to thoſe that addreſſed him, and ſo many benefits did he confer upon cities as well as private perſons, that if Enna, Megara, and Syracuſe were treated harſhly, the blame of that ſeverity was rather to be charged on the ſufferers themſelves, than on thoſe who chaſtiſed them.

I ſhall mention one of the many inſtances of this great man's moderation. There is in Sicily a town called Enguium, not large, indeed, but very ancient, and celebrated for the appearance of the goddeſſes called the *Mothers*.* The temple is ſaid to have been built by the Cretans, and they ſhow ſome ſpears and brazen helmets, inſcribed with the names of Meriones and Ulyſſes, who conſecrated them to thoſe goddeſſes. This town was ſtrongly inclined to

* Theſe are ſuppoſed to be Cybele, Juno, and Ceres. Cicero mentions a temple of Cybele at Enguium.

againſt the *Mothers*, as if he diſbelieved and mad
the received opinion concerning the preſence of t
deſſes there. Meantime, his enemies rejoiced
himſelf furniſhed them with ſufficient reaſons for
they could do to him. On the day which they
for ſeizing him, there happened to be an aſſeml
people, and Nicias was in the midſt of them, treat
ſome public buſineſs. But on a ſudden he thre
upon the ground, in the midſt of his diſcourſe, a
having laid there ſome time without ſpeaking, as
been in a trance, he lifted up his head, and
round, began to ſpeak with a feeble trembling voi
he raiſed by degrees; and when he ſaw the whole
ſtruck dumb with horror, he threw off his mantl
veſt in pieces, and ran half naked to one of the
the theatre, crying out that he was purſued by the
From a ſcruple of religion no one durſt touch or
all, therefore, making way, he reached one of
gates, though he no longer uſed any word or ac
one that was heaven ſtruck and diſtracted. His
was in the ſecret, and aſſiſted in the ſtrategem,
children, and went and proſtrated herſelf as a
before the altars of the goddeſſes. Then preten
ſhe was going to ſeek her huſband who was wander
in the fields, ſhe met with no oppoſition, but go
of the town; and ſo both of them eſcaped to M
Syracuſe. The people of Enguium adding m
inſults, and miſdemeanors to their paſt faults,
ſame, and had them loaded with irons, in order

and many rich gifts. Theſe particulars we learn from Poſidonius the philoſopher.

Marcellus,* after this, being called home to a war in the heart of Italy, carried with him the moſt valuable of the ſtatues and paintings in Syracuſe, that they might embelliſh his triumph, and be an ornament to Rome. For before this time, that city neither had, nor knew any curioſities of this kind; being a ſtranger to the charms of taſte and elegance. Full of arms taken from barbarous nations, and of bloody ſpoils; and crowned as ſhe was with trophies and other monuments of her triumphs, ſhe afforded not a cheerful and pleaſing ſpectacle, fit for men brought up in eaſe and luxury, but her look was awful and ſevere. And as Epaminondas calls the plains of Bœotia *the orcheſtra, or ſtage of* Mars, and Xenophon ſays Epheſus was *the arſenal of war*, ſo, in my opinion (to uſe the expreſſion of Pindar) one might then have ſtyled Rome the *temple of frowning* MARS.

Thus Marcellus was more acceptable to the people, becauſe he adorned the city with curioſities in the Grecian taſte, whoſe variety, as well as elegance, was very agreeable to the ſpectator. But the graver citizens preferred Fabius Maximus, who, when he took Tarentum, brought nothing of that kind away. The money, indeed, and other rich moveables he carried off, but he let the ſtatues and pictures remain, uſing this memorable expreſſion, *Let us leave the* Tarentines *their angry deities.* They blamed the proceedings of Marcellus, in the firſt place, as very invidious for Rome, becauſe he had led not only men, but the very gods in triumph; and their next charge was, that he had ſpoiled a people inured to agriculture and war; wholly unacquainted with luxury and ſloth, and, as Euripides ſays of Hercules,

> In vice untaught,† but ſkill'd where glory led
> To arduous enterpriſe,

* Marcellus, before he left Sicily, gained a conſiderable victory over Epicydes and Hanno; he ſlew great numbers, and took many priſoners, beſide eight elephants. *Liv.* lib. xxv. c. 40.

† Φαυλον ακομψον οντα, μεγιστα τε αγαθον.
This which is taken from an antient manuſcript, is much better than the common reading, which divides the word ὄντα into two ὅν, τὰ; for ſo divided, it is nonſenſe. But probably the ον has crept in by the careleſſneſs of ſome tranſcriber, and it will read better without it—
Φαυλον ακομψον, τα μεγιστα τε αγαθον.

by furniſhing them with an occaſion of idleneſs and vain diſcourſe; for they now began to ſpend great part of the day in diſputing about arts and artiſts. But notwithſtanding ſuch cenſures, this was the very thing that Marcellus valued himſelf upon, even to the Greeks themſelves, that he was the firſt who taught the Romans to eſteem and to admire the exquiſite performances of Greece, which were hitherto unknown to them.

Finding, at his return, that his enemies oppoſed his triumph, and conſidering that the war was not quite finiſhed in Sicily, as well as that a third triumph might expoſe him to the envy of his fellow citizens,* he ſo far yielded, as to content himſelf with leading up the greater triumph on Mount Alba, and entering Rome with the leſs. The leſs is called by the Greeks *εναν*, and by the Romans an *ovation*. In this the general does not ride in a triumphal chariot drawn by four horſes; he is not crowned with laurel, nor has he trumpets ſounding before him, but he walks in ſandals, attended with the muſic of many flutes, and wearing a crown of myrtle; his appearance, therefore, having nothing in it warlike, is rather pleaſing than formidable. This is to me a plain proof, that triumphs of old were diſtinguiſhed, not by the importance of the achievement, but by the manner of its performance. For thoſe that ſubdued their enemies, by fighting battles and ſpilling much blood, entered with that warlike and dreadful pomp of the greater triumph, and, as is cuſtomary in the luſtration of an army, wore crowns of laurel, and adorned their arms with the ſame. But when a general, without fighting, gained his point by treaty and the force of perſuaſion, the law decreed him this honor, called *Ovation*, which had more the appearance of a feſtival than of war. For the flute is an inſtrument uſed in time of peace; and the myrtle is the tree of Venus, who, of all the deities, is moſt averſe to violence and war.

* Our author mentions but one triumph before this, namely, that over the Gauls, nor do other writers ſpeak of any more; and inſtead of τριτος, an ancient manuſcript gives us πρωτος, which is the reading that Dacier has followed. If this be the true one, it muſt be tranſlated thus: *His former had expoſed him to envy.* But as Plutarch afterwards ſays expreſsly, that Marcellus had τρεις θριαμβους, *three triumphs*, we have retained the common reading, though we acknowledge that he might be miſtaken in the matter of fact.

Now the term *ovation* is not derived (as moſt authors think) from the word *evan*, which is uttered in ſhouts of joy, for they have the ſame ſhouts and ſongs in the other triumph; but the Greeks have wreſted it to a word well known in their language, believing that this proceſſion is intended in ſome meaſure in honor of Bacchus, whom they call *Evius* and *Thriambus*. The truth of the matter is this; it was cuſtomary for the generals, in the greater triumphs, to ſacrifice an ox; and in the leſs a ſheep, in Latin *ovis*, whence the word *ovation*. On this occaſion it is worth our while to obſerve, how different the inſtitutions of the Spartan legiſlator were from thoſe of the Roman, with reſpect to ſacrifices. In Sparta, the general who put a period to a war by policy or perſuaſion, ſacrificed a bullock; but he, whoſe ſucceſs was owing to force of arms, offered only a cock. For though they were a very warlike people, they thought it more honorable and more worthy of a human being, to ſucceed by eloquence and wiſdom, than by courage and force. But this point I leave to be conſidered by the reader.

When Marcellus was choſen conſul the fourth time, the Syracuſans, at the inſtigation of his enemies, came to Rome, to accuſe him, and to complain to the ſenate, that he had treated them in a cruel manner, and contrary to the faith of treaties.* It happened that Marcellus was at that time in the capitol, offering ſacrifice. The Syracuſans deputies went immediately to the ſenate, who were yet ſitting, and falling on their knees, begged of them to hear their complaints, and to do them juſtice; but the other conſul repulſed them with indignation, becauſe Marcellus, was not there to defend himſelf. Marcellus, however, being informed of it, came with all poſſible expedition, and having ſeated himſelf in his chair of ſtate, firſt deſpatched ſome public buſineſs, as conſul. When that was over, he came down from his ſeat, and went as a private perſon, to the place appointed for the accuſed to make their defence in, giving the Syracuſans opportunity to make good their charge. But they were greatly confounded to ſee the dignity and unconcern with which he behaved; and he who

* The Syracuſans were ſcarce arrived at Rome, before the conſuls drew lots for their provinces, and Sicily fell to Marcellus. This was a great ſtroke to the Syracuſan deputies, and they would not have dared to proſecute their charge, had not Marcellus voluntarily offered to change the provinces.

had been irreſiſtible in arms, was ſtill more awful and terrible to behold in his robe of purple. Nevertheleſs, encouraged by his enemies, they opened the accuſation in a ſpeech mingled with lamentations, the ſum of which was, "That, though friends and allies of Rome, they had "ſuffered more damage from Marcellus, than ſome other "generals had permitted to be done to a conquered ene-"my." To this Marcellus made anſwer,* "That, not-"withſtanding the many inſtances of their criminal be-"havior to the Romans, they had ſuffered nothing but "what it is impoſſible to prevent, when a city is taken "by ſtorm; and that Syracuſe was ſo taken, was entirely "their own fault, becauſe he had often ſummoned it to "ſurrender, and they refuſed to liſten to him. That, in "ſhort, they were not forced by their tyrants to commit "hoſtilities, but they had themſelves ſet up tyrants for "the ſake of going to war."

The reaſons of both ſides thus heard, the Syracuſans according to the cuſtom in that caſe withdrew, and Marcellus went out with them, leaving it to his colleague to collect the votes. While he ſtood at the door of the ſenate houſe† he was neither moved with the fear of the iſſue of the cauſe, nor with reſentment againſt the Syracuſans, ſo as to change his uſual deportment, but with great mildneſs and decorum he waited for the event. When the cauſe was decided, and he was declared to have gained it,‡ the Syracuſans fell at his feet, and beſought him with tears to pardon not only thoſe that were preſent, but to take compaſſion on the reſt of their citizens, who would ever acknowledge with gratitude the favor. Marcellus, moved with their entreaties, not only pardoned the deputies, but continued his protection to the other Syracuſans, and the

* When the Syracuſans had finiſhed their accuſations againſt Marcellus, his colleague Lævinus ordered them to withdraw; but Marcellus deſired they might ſtay and hear his defence.

† While the cauſe was debating, he went to the capitol, to take the names of the new levies.

‡ The conduct of Marcellus, on the taking of Syracuſe, was not entirely approved of at Rome. Some of the ſenators remembering the attachment which king Hiero had on all occaſions ſhown to their republic, could not help condemning their general for giving up the city to be plundered by his rapacious ſoldiers. The Syracuſans were not in a condition to make good their party againſt an army of mercenaries; and therefore were obliged againſt their will to yield to the times, and obey the miniſters of Hannibal, who commanded the army.

ſenate, approving the privileges he had granted, confirmed to them their liberty, their laws, and the poſſeſſions that remained to them. For this reaſon, beſide other ſignal honors with which they diſtinguiſhed Marcellus, they made a law, that whenever he or any of his deſcendants entered Sicily, the Syracuſans ſhould wear garlands, and offer ſacrifices to the gods.

After this Marcellus marched againſt Hannibal. And though almoſt all the other conſuls and generals, after the defeat of Cannæ, availed themſelves of the ſingle art of avoiding an engagement with the Carthaginian, and not one of them durſt meet him fairly in the field; Marcellus took quite a different courſe. He was of opinion, that inſtead of Hannibal's being worn out by length of time, the ſtrength of Italy would be inſenſibly waſted by him; and that the ſlow cautious maxims of Fabius were not fit to cure the malady of his country; ſince, by purſuing them, the flames of war could not be extinguiſhed, until Italy was conſumed; juſt as timorous phyſicians neglect to apply ſtrong, though neceſſary remedies, thinking the diſtemper will abate with the ſtrength of the patient.

In the firſt place, he recovered the beſt towns of the Samnites, which had revolted. In them he found conſiderable magazines of corn and a great quantity of money, beſide making three thouſand of Hannibal's men, who garriſoned them, priſoners. In the next place, when Cneius Fulvius the proconſul, with eleven tribunes, was ſlain, and great part of his army cut in pieces, by Hannibal in Apulia, Marcellus ſent letters to Rome, to exhort the citizens to be of good courage, for he himſelf was on his march to drive Hannibal out of the country.* The reading of theſe letters, Livy tells us, was ſo far from removing their grief, that it added terror to it, the Romans reckoning the preſent danger as much greater than the paſt, as Marcellus was a greater man than Fulvius.

Marcellus then going in queſt of Hannibal, according to his promiſe, entered Lucania, and found him encamped on inacceſſible heights near the city of Numiſtro. Marcellus himſelf pitched his tents on the plain, and the next day, was the firſt to draw up his forces in order of battle.

* The Latin annotator obſerves, on the authority of Livy, that inſtead of χωραν we ſhould here read χαραν, and then the paſſage will run thus; *he himſelf was marching againſt* Hannibal, *and would take care that his joy ſhould be very ſhort lived.*

Hannibal declined not the combat, but deſcended from the hills, and a battle enſued, which was not deciſive indeed, but great and bloody; for though the action began at the third hour, it was with difficulty that night put a ſtop to it. Next morning at break of day, Marcellus again drew up his army, and poſting it among the dead bodies, challenged Hannibal to diſpute it with him for the victory. But Hannibal choſe to draw off; and Marcellus, after he had gathered the ſpoils of the enemy, and buried his own dead, marched in purſuit of him. Though the Carthaginian laid many ſnares for him, he eſcaped them all; and having the advantage too in all ſkirmiſhes, his ſucceſs was looked upon with admiration. Therefore, when the time of the next election came on, the ſenate thought proper to call the other conſul out of Sicily, rather than draw off Marcellus, who was grappling with Hannibal. When he was arrived, they ordered him to declare Quintus Fulvius dictator. For a DICTATOR is not named either by the people or the ſenate, but one of the conſuls or prætors, advancing into the aſſembly, names whom he pleaſes. Hence ſome think, the term *Dictator* comes from *dicere*, which in Latin ſignifies *to name*; but others aſſert, that the *dictator* is ſo called, becauſe he refers nothing to plurality of voices in the ſenate, or to the ſuffrages of the people, but gives his orders at his own pleaſure. For the orders of magiſtrates, which the Greek call *diatagmata* the Romans call *edicta*, edicts.

The colleague* of Marcellus was diſpoſed to appoint another perſon dictator, and that he might not be obliged to depart from his own opinion, he left Rome by night, and ſailed back to Sicily. The people, therefore, named Quintus Fulvius, dictator, and the ſenate wrote to Marcellus to confirm the nomination, which he did accordingly.

Marcellus was appointed proconſul for the year following; and having agreed with Fabius Maximus the conſul, by letters, that Fabius ſhould beſiege Tarentum, while himſelf was to watch the motions of Hannibal, and prevent his relieving the place, he marched after him with all

* Lævinus, who was the colleague of Marcellus, wanted to name M. Valerius Meſſala, dictator. As he left Rome abruptly, and enjoined the prætor not to name Fulvius, the tribunes of the people took upon them to do it, and the ſenate got the nomination confirmed by the conſul Marcellus.

diligence, and came up with him at Canuſium. And as Hannibal ſhifted his camp continually, to avoid coming to a battle, Marcellus watched him cloſely, and took care to keep him in ſight. At laſt, coming up with him, as he was encamping, he ſo haraſſed him with ſkirmiſhes, that he drew him to an engagement; but night ſoon came on, and parted the combatants. Next morning early, he drew his army out of the entrenchments, and put them in order of battle; ſo that Hannibal, in great vexation, aſſembled the Carthaginians, and begged of them to exert themſelves more in that battle than ever they had done before. "For "you ſee," ſaid he, "that we can neither take breath, "after ſo many victories already gained, nor enjoy the "leaſt leiſure if we are victorious now, unleſs this man be "driven off."

After this a battle enſued, in which Marcellus ſeems to have miſcarried by an unſeaſonable movement.* For ſeeing his right wing hard preſſed, he ordered one of the legions to advance to the front, to ſupport them. This movement put the whole army in diſorder, and decided the day in favor of the enemy; two thouſand ſeven hundred Romans being ſlain upon the ſpot. Marcellus retreated into his camp, and having ſummoned his troops together, told them, "He ſaw the arms and bodies of Ro-"mans in abundance before him, but not one Roman." On their begging pardon, he ſaid, "He would not forgive "them while vanquiſhed, but when they came to be victo-"rious he would; and that he would lead them into the "field again the next day, that the news of the victory "might reach Rome before that of their flight." Before he diſmiſſed them, he gave orders that barley ſhould be meaſured out, inſtead of wheat,† to thoſe companies that had turned their backs. His reprimand made ſuch an impreſſion on them, that though many were dangerouſly wounded, there was not a man who did not feel more pain from the words of Marcellus, than he did from his wounds.

* The movement was not unſeaſonable, but ill executed. Livy ſays the right wing gave way faſter than they needed to have done, and the eighteenth legion, which was ordered to advance from rear to front, moved too ſlowly; this occaſioned the diſorder.

† This was a common puniſhment. Beſides which, he ordered that the officers of thoſe companies ſhould continue all day long with their ſwords drawn, and without their girdles. *Liv.* xxvii. c. 13.

Next morning, the ſcarlet robe, which was the ordinary ſignal of battle, was hung out betimes; and the companies that had come off with diſhonor before, obtained leave, at their earneſt requeſt, to be poſted in the foremoſt line; after which the tribunes drew up the reſt of the troops in their proper order. When this was reported to Hannibal, he ſaid, "Ye gods, what can one do with a "man, who is not affected with either good or bad for-"tune? This is the only man who will neither give any "time to reſt, when he is victorious, nor take any when "he is beaten. We muſt even reſolve to fight with him "for ever; ſince, whether proſperous or unſucceſsful, a "principle of honor leads him on to new attempts and "farther exertions of courage."

Both armies then engaged, and Hannibal ſeeing no advantage gained by either, ordered his elephants to be brought forward into the firſt line, and to be puſhed againſt the Romans. The ſhock cauſed great confuſion at firſt in the Roman front; but Flavius, a tribune, ſnatching an enſign ſtaff from one of the companies, advanced, and with the point of it wounded the foremoſt elephant. The beaſt upon this, turned back, and ran upon the ſecond, the ſecond upon the next that followed, and ſo on till they were all put in great diſorder. Marcellus obſerving this, ordered his horſe to fall furiouſly upon the enemy, and taking advantage of the confuſion already made, to rout them entirely. Accordingly they charged with extraordinary vigor, and drove the Carthaginians to their entrenchments. The ſlaughter was dreadful; and the fall of the killed, and the plunging of the wounded elephants contributed greatly to it. It is ſaid that more than eight thouſand Carthaginians fell in this battle; of the Romans not above three thouſand were ſlain, but almoſt all the reſt were wounded. This gave Hannibal opportunity to decamp ſilently in the night, and remove to a great diſtance from Marcellus, who by reaſon of the number of his wounded, was not able to purſue him, but retired, by eaſy marches, into Campania, and paſſed the ſummer in the city of Sinueſſa,* to recover and refreſh his ſoldiers.

Hannibal, thus diſengaged from Marcellus, made uſe of his troops, now at liberty, and ſecurely overran the country, burning and deſtroying all before him. This gave occaſion

* Livy ſays in Venuſia, which being much nearer Canuſium, was more convenient for the wounded men to retire to.

to unfavorable reports of Marcellus at Rome; and his enemies incited Publius Bibulus, one of the tribunes of the people, a man of violent temper, and a vehement ſpeaker, to accuſe him in form. Accordingly Bibulus often aſſembled the people, and endeavored to perſuade them to take the command from him, and give it to another:—"Since "Marcellus," ſaid he, "has only exchanged a few thruſts "with Hannibal, and then left the ſtage, and is gone to "the hot baths to refreſh himſelf."*

When Marcellus was appriſed of theſe practices againſt him, he left his army in charge with his lieutenants, and went to Rome to make his defence. On his arrival, he found an impeachment framed out of theſe calumnies.—And the day fixed for it being come, and the people aſſembled in the Flaminian Circus, Bibulus aſcended the tribune's ſeat and ſet forth his charge. Marcellus's anſwer was plain and ſhort; but many perſons of diſtinction among the citizens exerted themſelves greatly, and ſpoke with much freedom, exhorting the people not to judge worſe of Marcellus, than the enemy himſelf had done, by fixing a mark of cowardice upon the only general whom Hannibal ſhunned, and uſed as much art and care to avoid fighting with, as he did to ſeek the combat with others. Theſe remonſtrances had ſuch an effect, that the accuſer was totally diſappointed in his expectations, for Marcellus was not only acquitted of the charge, but a fifth time choſen conſul.

As ſoon as he had entered upon his office, he viſited the cities of Tuſcany, and by his perſonal influence, allayed a dangerous commotion, that tended to a revolt. At his return, he was deſirous to dedicate to HONOR and VIRTUE the temple which he had built out of the Sicilian ſpoils, but was oppoſed by the prieſts, who would not conſent that two deities ſhould be contained in one temple.† Taking

* There were hot baths near Sinueſſa, but none near Venuſia. Therefore, if Marcellus went to the latter place, this ſatirical ſtroke was not applicable. Accordingly Livy does not apply it; he only makes Bibulus ſay, that Marcellus paſſed the ſummer in quarters.

† They ſaid, if the temple ſhould be ſtruck with thunder and lightning, or any other prodigy ſhould happen to it that wanted expiation, they ſhould not know to which of the deities they ought to offer the expiatory ſacrifice. Marcellus, therefore, to ſatisfy the prieſts, began another temple, and the work was carried on with great diligence; but he did not live to dedicate it. His ſon conſecrated both the temples about four years after.

this oppoſition ill, and conſidering it as ominous, he began another temple.

There were many other prodigies that gave him uneaſineſs. Some temples were ſtruck with lightning; in that of Jupiter rats gnawed the gold; it was even reported that an ox ſpoke, and that there was a child living which was born with an elephant's head; and when the expiation of theſe prodigies was attempted, there were no tokens of ſucceſs. The *augurs*, therefore, kept him in Rome, notwithſtanding his impatience and eagerneſs to be gone. For never was man ſo paſſionately deſirous of any thing as he was of fighting a deciſive battle with Hannibal. It was his dream by night, the ſubject of converſation all day with his friends and colleagues, and his ſole requeſt to the gods, that he might meet Hannibal fairly in the field. Nay, I verily believe, he would have been glad to have had both armies ſurrounded with a wall or entrenchment, and to have fought in that encloſure. Indeed, had he not already attained to ſuch a height of glory, had he not given ſo many proofs of his equalling the beſt generals in prudence and diſcretion, I ſhould think he gave way to a ſanguine and extravagant ambition, unſuitable to his years; for he was above ſixty when he entered upon his fifth conſulate.

At laſt the expiatory ſacrifices being ſuch as the ſoothſayers approved, he ſet out, with his colleague, to proſecute the war, and fixed his camp between Bantia and Venuſia. There he tried every method to provoke Hannibal to a battle, which he conſtantly declined. But the Carthaginian perceiving that the conſuls had ordered ſome troops to go and lay ſiege to the city of the *Epizephyrians* or Weſtern Locrians,* he laid an ambuſcade on their way, under the hill of Petelia, and killed two thouſand five hundred of them. This added ſtings to Marcellus's deſire of an engagement, and made him draw nearer to the enemy.

Between the two armies was a hill, which afforded a pretty ſtrong poſt; it was covered with thickets, and on both ſides were hollows, from whence iſſued ſprings and rivulets. The Romans were ſurpriſed that Hannibal, who came firſt to ſo advantageous a place, did not take

* This was not a detachment from the forces of the conſuls which they did not chooſe to weaken when in the ſight of ſuch an enemy as Hannibal. It conſiſted of troops drawn from Sicily, and from the garriſon of Tarentum.

poſſeſſion of it, but left it for the enemy. He did, indeed, think it a good place for a camp, but a better for an ambuſcade, and to that uſe he choſe to put it. He filled, therefore, the thickets and hollows with a good number of archers and ſpearmen, aſſuring himſelf that the convenience of the poſt would draw the Romans to it. Nor was he miſtaken in his conjecture. Preſently nothing was talked of in the Roman army, but the expediency of ſeizing this hill; and as if they had been all generals, they ſet forth the many advantages they ſhould have over the enemy, by encamping, or, at leaſt, raiſing a fortification upon it. Thus Marcellus was induced to go with a few horſe to take a view of the hill; but, before he went, he offered ſacrifice. In the firſt victim that was ſlain the diviner ſhowed him the liver without a head; in the ſecond, the head was very plump and large, and the other tokens appearing remarkably good, ſeemed ſufficient to diſpel the fears of the firſt; but the diviners declared, they were the more alarmed on that very account; for when favorable ſigns on a ſudden follow threatening and inauſpicious ones, the ſtrangeneſs of the alteration ſhould rather be ſuſpected. But as Pindar ſays,

> Nor fire nor walls of triple braſs
> Control the high beheſts of Fate.

He, therefore, ſet out to view the place, taking with him his colleague Criſpinus, his ſon Marcellus, who was a tribune, and only two hundred and twenty horſe, among whom there was not one Roman; they were all Tuſcans, except forty Fregellanians, of whoſe courage and fidelity he had ſufficient experience. On the ſummit of the hill, which, as we ſaid before, was covered with trees and buſhes, the enemy had placed a ſentinel, who, without being ſeen himſelf, could ſee every movement in the Roman camp. Thoſe that lay in ambuſh having intelligence from him of what was doing, lay cloſe till Marcellus came very near, and then all at once ruſhed out, ſpread themſelves about him, let fly a ſhower of arrows, and charged him with their ſwords and ſpears. Some purſued the fugitives, and others attacked thoſe that ſtood their ground. The latter were the forty Fregellanians; for, the Tuſcans taking to flight at the firſt charge, the others cloſed together in a body to defend the conſuls; and they continued the fight till Criſpinus, wounded with two arrows, turned his horſe

to make his eſcape, and Marcellus being run through between the ſhoulders with a lance, fell down dead. Then the few Fregellanians that remained, leaving the body of Marcellus, carried off his ſon, who was wounded, and fled with him to the camp.

In this ſkirmiſh there were not many more than forty men killed; eighteen were taken priſoners, beſides five *lictors*. Criſpinus died of his wounds a few days after.* This was a moſt unparalleled misfortune; the Romans loſt both the conſuls in one action.

Hannibal made but little account of the reſt, but when he knew that Marcellus was killed, he haſtened to the place, and, ſtanding over the body a long time, ſurveyed its ſize and mien; but without ſpeaking one inſulting word, or ſhowing the leaſt ſign of joy, which might have been expected at the fall of ſo dangerous and formidable an enemy. He ſtood, indeed, a while aſtoniſhed at the ſtrange death of ſo great a man; and at laſt taking his ſignet from his finger,† he cauſed his body to be magnificently attired and burnt, and the aſhes to be put in a ſilver urn, and then placed a crown of gold upon it, and ſent it to his ſon.—But certain Numidians meeting thoſe that carried the urn, attempted to take it from them, and as the others ſtood upon their guard to defend it, the aſhes were ſcattered in the ſtruggle. When Hannibal was informed of it, he ſaid to thoſe that were about him, *You ſee it is impoſſible to do any thing againſt the will of God.* He puniſhed the Numidians, indeed, but took no farther care about collecting and ſending the remains of Marcellus, believing that ſome deity had ordained that Marcellus ſhould die in ſo ſtrange a manner, and that his aſhes ſhould be denied burial. This account of the matter we have from Cornelius Nepos and

* He did not die till the latter end of the year, having named T. Manlius Torquatus, dictator, to hold the *comitia*. Some ſay he died at Tarentum; others in Campania.

† Hannibal imagined he ſhould have ſome opportunity or other of making uſe of this ſeal to his advantage. But Criſpinius diſpatched meſſengers to all the neighboring cities, in the intereſt of Rome, acquainting them that Marcellus was killed, and Hannibal maſter of his ring. This precaution preſerved Salapia, in Apulia. Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the Carthaginian upon himſelf. For admitting, upon a letter ſealed with that ring, ſix hundred of Hannibal's men, moſt of them Roman deſerters, into the town, they on a ſudden pulled up the draw bridges, cut in pieces thoſe who had entered, and, with a ſhower of darts from the ramparts, drove back the reſt. *Liv.* l. xxvii. c. 28.

Valerius Maximus; but Livy* and Auguſtus Cæſar affirm, that the urn was carried to his ſon, and that his remains were interred with great magnificence.

Marcellus's public donations, beſide thoſe he dedicated at Rome, were a *Gymnaſium*, which he built at Catana in Sicily; and ſeveral ſtatues and paintings, brought from Syracuſe, which he ſet up in the temple of the *Cabiri* in Samothrace, and in that of Minerva at Lindus. In the latter of theſe, the following verſes, as Poſidonius tells us, were inſcribed on the pedeſtal of his ſtatue:

The light of Rome, Marcellus here behold,
For birth, for deeds of arms, by fame enroll'd.
Seven times his FASCES grac'd the martial plain,
And by his thundering arm were thouſands ſlain.

The author of this inſcription adds to his five conſulates the dignity of proconſul, with which he was twice honored. His poſterity continued in great ſplendor down to Marcellus, the ſon of Caius Marcellus and Octavia the ſiſter of Auguſtus.† He died very young, in the office of *ædile*, ſoon after he had married Julia, the emperor's daughter. To do honor to his memory, Octavia dedicated to him a library,‡ and Auguſtus a theatre, and both theſe public works bore his name.

* Livy tells us, that Hannibal buried the body of Marcellus on the hill where he was ſlain.

† His family continued after his death an hundred and eightyfive years; for he was ſlain in the firſt year of the hundred and forty-third Olympiad, in the five hundred and fortyfifth year of Rome, and two hundred and ſix years before the Chriſtian era; and young Marcellus died in the ſecond year of the hundred and eightyninth Olympiad, and ſeven hundred and thirtieth of Rome.

‡ According to Suetonius and Dion, it was not Octavia but Auguſtus that dedicated this library.

PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS,

COMPARED.

THESE are the particulars which we thought worth reciting from hiſtory concerning Marcellus and Pelopidas; between whom there was a perfect reſemblance in the gifts of nature, and in their lives and manners. For they were both men of heroic ſtrength, capable of enduring the greateſt fatigue, and in courage and magnanimity they were equal. The ſole difference is, that Marcellus, in moſt of the cities which he took by aſſault, committed great ſlaughter, whereas Epaminondas and Pelopidas, never ſpilt the blood of any man they had conquered, nor enſlaved any city they had taken. And it is affirmed, that if they had been preſent, the Thebans would not have deprived the Orchomenians of their liberty.

As to their achievements, among thoſe of Marcellus there was none greater or more illuſtrious than his beating ſuch an army of Gauls, both horſe and foot, with a handful of horſe only, of which you will ſcarce meet with another inſtance, and his ſlaying their prince with his own hand. Pelopidas hoped to have done ſomething of the like nature, but miſcarried, and loſt his life in the attempt. However, the great and glorious battles of Leuctra and Tegyræ may be compared with theſe exploits of Marcellus. And, on the other hand, there is nothing of Marcellus's effected by ſtratagem and ſurpriſe, which can be ſet againſt the happy management of Pelopidas, at his return from exile, in taking off the Theban tyrants. Indeed, of all the enterpriſes of the ſecret hand of art, that was the maſterpiece.

If it be ſaid, that Hannibal was a formidable enemy to the Romans, the Lacedæmonians were certainly the ſame to the Thebans. And yet it is agreed on all hands, that they were thoroughly beaten by Pelopidas, at Leuctra and Tegyræ, whereas, according to Polybius, Hannibal was never once defeated by Marcellus, but continued invincible till he had to do with Scipio. However, we rather believe with Livy, Cæſar, and Cornelius Nepos,

among the Latin hiſtorians, and with king Juba* among the Greek, that Marcellus did ſometimes beat Hannibal, and even put his troops to flight, though he gained no advantage of him ſufficient to turn the balance conſiderably on his ſide; ſo that one might even think, that the Carthaginian then acted with the art of a wreſtler, who ſometimes ſuffers himſelf to be thrown.† But what has been very juſtly admired in Marcellus, is, that, after ſuch great armies had been routed, ſo many generals ſlain, and the whole empire almoſt totally ſubverted, he found means to inſpire his troops with courage enough to make head againſt the enemy. He was the only man that from a ſtate of terror and diſmay, in which they had long remained, raiſed the army to an eagerneſs for battle, and infuſed into them ſuch a ſpirit, that, far from tamely giving up the victory, they diſputed it with the greateſt obſtinacy. For thoſe very men who had been accuſtomed by a run of ill ſucceſs, to think themſelves happy if they could eſcape Hannibal by flight, were taught by Marcellus to be aſhamed of coming off with diſadvantage, to bluſh at the very thought of giving way, and to be ſenſibly affected if they gained not the victory.

As Pelopidas never loſt a battle in which he commanded in perſon, and Marcellus won more than any Roman of his time, he who performed ſo many exploits, and was ſo hard to conquer, may, perhaps, be put on a level with the other, who was never beaten. On the other hand, it may be obſerved, that Marcellus took Syracuſe, whereas Pelopidas failed in his attempt upon Sparta. Yet, I think, even to approach Sparta, and to be the firſt that ever paſſed the Eurotas in a hoſtile manner, was a greater achievement than the conqueſt of Sicily; unleſs it may be ſaid, that the honor of this exploit, as well as that of Leuctra, belongs rather to Epaminondas than Pelopidas, whereas the glory Marcellus gained was entirely his own.

* This hiſtorian was the ſon of Juba, king of Numidia, who, in the civil war ſided with Pompey, and was ſlain by Petreius in ſingle combat. The ſon, mentioned here, was brought in triumph by Cæſar to Rome, where he was educated in the learning of the Greeks and Romans.

† αλλ' ἐοικε ψεύδεσθαι τι γινεσθαι περι τον Διβυν εν ταις συμπλοκαις ἐκειναις.

For he alone took Syracuſe; he defeated the Gauls without his colleague; he made head againſt Hannibal, not only without the aſſiſtance, but againſt the remonſtrances of the other generals; and changing the face of the war, he firſt taught the Romans to meet the enemy with a good countenance.

As for their deaths, I praiſe neither the one nor the other, but it is with concern and indignation that I think of the ſtrange circumſtances that attended them. At the ſame time, I admire Hannibal, who fought ſuch a number of battles as it would be a labor to reckon, without ever receiving a wound; and I greatly approve the behavior of Chryſantes, in the *Cyropædia*,* who having his ſword lifted up and ready to ſtrike, upon hearing the trumpets ſound a retreat, calmly and modeſtly retired without giving the ſtroke. Pelopidas, however, was ſomewhat excuſable, becauſe he was not only warmed with the heat of battle, but incited by a generous deſire of revenge.—And, as Euripides ſays,

> The firſt of chiefs is he who laurels gains,
> And buys them not with life; the next is he
> Who dies, but dies in Virtue's arms————

In ſuch a man, dying is a free and involuntary act, not a paſſive ſubmiſſion to fate. But beſide his reſentment, the end Pelopidas propoſed to himſelf in conquering, which was the death of a tyrant, with reaſon animated him to uncommon efforts; for it was not eaſy to find another cauſe ſo great and glorious wherein to exert himſelf. But Marcellus, without any urgent occaſion, without that enthuſiaſm which often puſhes men beyond the bounds of reaſon in time of danger, unadviſedly expoſed himſelf, and died not like a general, but like a ſpy; riſking his five conſulates, his three triumphs, his trophies and ſpoils of kings againſt a company of Spaniards and Numidians, who had bartered with the Carthaginians for their lives and ſervices. An accident ſo ſtrange, that thoſe very adventurers could not forbear grudging themſelves ſuch ſucceſs, when they found that a man the moſt diſtinguiſhed of all the Romans for valor, as well as power and fame, had fallen by their hands, amidſt a ſcouting party of Fregellanians.

* Mentioned at the beginning of the fourth book.

Let not this, however, be deemed an accuſation againſt theſe great men, but rather a complaint to them of the injury done themſelves, by ſacrificing all their other virtues to their intrepidity, and a free expoſtulation with them for being ſo prodigal of their blood as to ſhed it for their own ſakes, when it ought to have fallen only for their country, their friends, and their allies.

Pelopidas was buried by his friends, in whoſe cauſe he was ſlain, and Marcellus by thoſe enemies that ſlew him. The firſt was a happy and deſirable thing, but the other was greater and more extraordinary; for gratitude in a friend for benefits received, is not equal to an enemy's admiring the virtue by which he ſuffers. In the firſt caſe there is more regard to intereſt than to merit; in the latter, real worth is the ſole object of the honor paid.

ARISTIDES.

ARISTIDES, the ſon of Lyſimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochus, and the ward of Alopece. Of his eſtate we have different accounts. Some ſay, he was always very poor, and that he left two daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried, on account of their poverty.*—But Demetrius the Phalerean contradicts this general opinion in his *Socrates*, and ſays there was a farm at Phalera which went by the name of Ariſtides, and that there he was buried. And to prove that there was a competent eſtate in his family, he produces three arguments. The firſt is taken from the office of archon,† which made the year bear his name; and which fell to him by lot; and for this none took their chance but ſuch as had an income of the firſt degree, conſiſting of five hundred meaſures of corn, wine, and oil, who therefore were called *Pentacoſiomedimni*. The ſecond argument is founded on the *Oſtraciſm*, by which he was baniſhed, and which was never inflicted on the meaner ſort, but only upon perſons of quality,

* And yet, according to a law of Solon's, the bride was to carry with her only three ſuits of clothes, and a little houſehold ſtuff of ſmall value.

† At Athens they reckoned their years by *Archons*, as the Romans did theirs by *Conſuls*. One of the nine archons, who all had eſtates of the firſt degree, was for this purpoſe choſen by lot out of the reſt, and his name inſcribed in the public regiſters.

whoſe grandeur and family pride made them obnoxious to the people. The third and laſt is drawn from the Tripods, which Ariſtides dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, on account of his victory in the public games, and which are ſtill to be ſeen with this inſcription, "The tribe of Anti-"ochus gained the victory, Ariſtides defrayed the charg-"es, and Archeſtratus was the author of the play."

But this laſt argument, though in appearance the ſtrongeſt of all, is really a very weak one. For Epaminondas, who, as every body knows, lived and died poor, and Plato the philoſopher, who was not rich, exhibited very ſplendid ſhows; the one was at the expenſe of a concert of flutes at Thebes, and the other of an entertainment of ſinging and dancing performed by boys at Athens; Dion having furniſhed Plato with the money, and Pelopidas ſupplied Epaminondas. For why ſhould good men be always averſe to the preſents of their friends? While they think it mean and ungenerous to receive anything for themſelves, to lay up, or to gratify an avaricious temper, they need not refuſe ſuch offers as ſerve the purpoſes of honor and magnificence, without any views of profit.

As to the Tripods, inſcribed with ARISTIDES, Panætius ſhows plainly that Demetrius was deceived by the name. For, according to the regiſters, from the Perſian to the end of the Peloponneſian war, there were only two of the name of Ariſtides who carried the prize in the choral exhibitions, and neither of them was the ſon of Lyſimachus; for the former was ſon to Xenophilus, and the latter lived long after, as appears from the characters,* which were not in uſe till after Euclid's time, and likewiſe from the name of the poet Archeſtratus, which is not found in any record or author during the Perſian wars; whereas mention is often made of a poet of that name, who brought his pieces upon the ſtage in the time of the Peloponneſian war.† But this argument of Panætius ſhould not be admitted without farther examination.

* Γραμματικης, which is the common reading, has been well changed by M. Salvini to γραμμικης

† It was very poſſible for a poet, in his own lifetime, to have his plays acted in the Peloponneſian war, and in the Perſian too. And therefore the inſcription which Plutarch mentions might belong to our Ariſtides.

And as for the Oſtraciſm, every man that was diſtinguiſhed by birth, reputation, or eloquence, was liable to ſuffer by it; ſince it fell even upon Damon, preceptor to Pericles, becauſe he was looked upon as a man of ſuperior parts and policy. Beſides, Idomeneus tells us, that Ariſtides came to be *archon* not by lot, but by particular appointment of the people. And if he was *archon* after the battle of Platæa,* as Demetrius himſelf writes, it is very probable that, after ſuch great actions, and ſo much glory, his virtue might gain him that office which others obtained by their wealth. But it is plain that Demetrius labored to take the imputation of poverty, as if it were ſome great evil, not only from Ariſtides, but form Socrates too; who, he ſays, beſides a houſe of his own, had ſeventy minæ† at intereſt in the hands of Crito.

Ariſtides had a particular friendſhip for Cliſthenes, who ſettled the popular government at Athens after the expulſion of the tyrants;‡ yet he had, at the ſame time, the greateſt veneration for Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian, whom he conſidered as the moſt excellent of lawgivers; and this led him to be a favorer of ariſtocracy, in which he was always oppoſed by Themiſtocles, who liſted in the party of the commons. Some, indeed, ſay, that being brought up together from their infancy, when boys, they were always at variance, not only in ſerious matters, but in their very ſports and diverſions; and their tempers were diſcovered from the firſt by that oppoſition. The one was inſinuating, daring, and artful, variable and at the ſame time impetuous in his purſuits; the other was ſolid and ſteady, inflexibly juſt, incapable of uſing any falſehood, flattery, or deceit, even at play. But Ariſto of Chios||

* But Demetrius was miſtaken; for Ariſtides was never archon after the battle of Platæa, which was fought in the ſecond year of the ſeventyfifth Olympiad. In the liſt of archons the name of Ariſtides is found in the fourth year of the ſeventyſecond Olympiad, a year or two after the battle of Marathon, and in the ſecond year of the ſeventyfourth Olympiad, four years before the battle of Platæa.

† But Socrates himſelf declares, in his apology to his judges, that, conſidering his poverty, they could not in reaſon fine him more than one mina.

‡ Theſe tyrants were the Piſiſtratidæ, who were driven out about the ſixtyſixth Olympiad.

|| Dacier thinks it was rather Ariſto of Ceos, becauſe, as a Peripatetic, he was more likely to write treatiſes of love than the other, who was a Stoic.

writes, that their enmity, which afterwards came to ſuch a height, took its riſe from love.

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Themiſtocles, who was an agreeable companion, gained many friends, and became reſpectable in the ſtrength of his popularity. Thus, when he was told that "he would "govern the Athenians extremely well, if he would but "do it without reſpect of perſons," he ſaid, "May I never "ſit on a tribunal where my friends ſhall not find more "favor from me than ſtrangers."

Ariſtides, on the contrary, took a method of his own in conducting the adminiſtration. For he would neither conſent to any injuſtice to oblige his friends, nor yet diſoblige them, by denying all they aſked; and as he ſaw that many, depending on their intereſt and friends, were tempted to do unwarrantable things, he never endeavored after that ſupport, but declared, that a good citizen ſhould place his whole ſtrength and ſecurity in adviſing and doing what is juſt and right. Nevertheleſs, as Themiſtocles made many raſh and dangerous motions, and endeavored to break his meaſures in every ſtep of government, he was obliged to oppoſe him as much in his turn, partly by way of ſelfdefence, and partly to leſſen his power, which daily increaſed through the favor of the people. For he thought it better that the commonwealth ſhould miſs ſome advantages, than that Themiſtocles, by gaining his point, ſhould come at laſt to carry all before him. Hence it was, that one day when Themiſtocles propoſed ſomething advantageous to the public, Ariſtides oppoſed it ſtrenuouſly, and with ſucceſs; but as he went out of the aſſembly, he could not forbear ſaying, "The affairs "of the Athenians cannot proſper, except they throw "Themiſtocles and myſelf into the barathrum."* Another time when he intended to propoſe a decree to the people, he found it ſtrongly diſputed in the council, but at laſt he prevailed; perceiving its inconveniencies, however, by the preceding debates, he put a ſtop to it, juſt as the preſident was going to put it to the queſtion, in order to its being confirmed by the people. Very often he offered his ſentiments by a third perſon, leſt, by the op-

* The barathrum was a very deep pit, into which condemned perſons were thrown headlong.

poſition of Themiſtocles to him, the public good ſhould be obſtructed.

In the changes and fluctuations of the government, his firmneſs was wonderful. Neither elated with honors, nor diſcompoſed with ill ſucceſs, he went on in a moderate and ſteady manner, perſuaded that his country had a claim to his ſervices, without the reward either of honor or profit. Hence it was, that when thoſe verſes of Æſchylus concerning Amphiaraus were repeated on the ſtage,

> To be, and not to ſeem, is this man's maxim;
> His mind repoſes on its proper wiſdom,
> And wants no other praiſe,*———

the eyes of the people in general, were fixed on Ariſtides, as the man to whom this great encomium was moſt applicable. Indeed, he was capable of reſiſting the ſuggeſtions, not only of favor and affection, but of reſentment and enmity too, wherever juſtice was concerned. For it is ſaid, that when he was carrying on a proſecution againſt his enemy, and, after he had brought his charge, the judges were going to paſs ſentence, without hearing the perſon accuſed, he roſe up to his aſſiſtance, entreating that he might be heard, and have the privilege which the laws allowed. Another time when he himſelf ſat judge between two private perſons, and one of them obſerved, "That his adverſary had done many injuries to Ariſti-"des:" "Tell me not that," ſaid he, "but what injury "he has done to thee; for it is thy cauſe I am judging, "not my own."

When appointed public treaſurer, he made it appear, that not only thoſe of his time, but the officers that preceded him, had applied a great deal of the public money to their own uſe; and particularly Themiſtocles;

> ———For he, with all his wiſdom,
> Could ne'er command his hands.

For this reaſon, when Ariſtides gave in his accounts, Themiſtocles raiſed a ſtrong party againſt him, accuſed him of

* Theſe verſes are to be found in the "Siege of Thebes by the "Seven Captains." They are a deſcription of the genius and temper of Amphiaraus, which the courier, who brings an account of the enemy's attacks, and of the characters of the commanders, gives to Eteocles. Plutarch has changed one word in them for another, that ſuited his purpoſe better: reading δικαιος *juſt*, inſtead of αριστος *valiant*.

miſapplying the public money, and (according to Idomeneus) got him condemned. But the principal and moſt reſpectable of the citizens,* incenſed at this treatment of Ariſtides, interpoſed, and prevailed, not only that he might be excuſed the fine, but choſen again chief treaſurer. He now pretended that his former proceedings were too ſtrict, and carrying a gentler hand over thoſe that acted under him, ſuffered them to pilfer the public money, without ſeeming to find them out, or reckoning ſtrictly with them; ſo that, fattened on the ſpoils of their country, they laviſhed their praiſes on Ariſtides, and heartily eſpouſing his cauſe, begged of the people to continue him in the ſame department. But when the Athenians were going to confirm it to him by their ſuffrages, he gave them this ſevere rebuke: "While I managed "your finances with all the fidelity of an honeſt man, I "was loaded with calumnies; and now when I ſuffer them "to be a prey to public robbers, I am become a mighty "good citizen; but I aſſure you, I am more aſhamed of "the preſent honor, than I was of the former diſgrace; "and it is with indignation and concern, that I ſee you "eſteem it more meritorious to oblige ill men, than to "take proper care of the public revenue." By thus ſpeaking and diſcovering their frauds, he ſilenced thoſe that recommended him with ſo much noiſe and buſtle, but at the ſame time received the trueſt and moſt valuable praiſe from the worthieſt of the citizens.

About this time Datis, who was ſent by Darius, under pretence of chaſtiſing the Athenians for burning Sardis, but in reality to ſubdue all Greece, arrived with his fleet at Marathon, and began to ravage the neighboring country. Among the generals to whom the Athenians gave the management of this war, Miltiades was firſt in dignity, and the next to him in reputation and authority was Ariſtides. In a council of war that was then held, Miltiades voted for giving the enemy battle,† and

* The court of Areopagus interpoſed in his behalf.

† According to Herodotus, (l. vi. c. 109.) the generals were very much divided in their opinions, ſome were for fighting, others not: Miltiades obſerving this, addreſſed himſelf to Callimachus of Aphidnæ, who was *polemarch*, and whoſe power was equal to that of all the other generals. Callimachus, whoſe voice was deciſive according to the Athenian laws, joined directly with Miltiades, and declared for giving battle immediately. Poſſibly Ariſtides might have ſome ſhare in bringing Callimachus to this reſolution.

Ariſtides, ſeconding him, added no little weight to his ſcale. The generals commanded by turns, each his day; but when it came to Ariſtides's turn, he gave up his right to Miltiades, thus ſhowing his colleagues, that it was no diſgrace to follow the directions of the wiſe, but that, on the contrary, it anſwered ſeveral honorable and ſalutary purpoſes. By this means, he laid the ſpirit of contention, and bringing them to agree in and follow the beſt opinion, he ſtrengthened the hands of Miltiades, who now had the abſolute and undivided command; the other generals no longer inſiſting on their days, but entirely ſubmitting to his orders.*

In this battle, the main body of the Athenian army was preſſed the hardeſt,† becauſe there for a long time the barbarians made their greateſt efforts againſt the tribes Leontis and Antiochis; and Themiſtocles and Ariſtides, who belonged to thoſe tribes, exerting themſelves at the head of them, with all the ſpirit of emulation, behaved with ſo much vigor, that the enemy were put to flight, and driven back to their ſhips. But the Greeks perceiving that the barbarians, inſtead of ſailing to the iſles, to return to Aſia, were driven in by the wind and currents towards Attica,‡ and fearing that Athens, unprovided for its defence, might become an eaſy prey to them, marched home with nine tribes, and uſed ſuch expedition, that they reached the city in one day.‖

Ariſtides was left at Marathon with his own tribe, to guard the priſoners and the ſpoils; and he did not diſap-

* Yet he would not fight until his own proper day of command came about, for fear that through any latent ſparks of jealouſy and envy, any of the generals ſhould be led not to do their duty.

† The Athenians and Platæans fought with ſuch obſtinate valor on the right and left, that the barbarians were forced to fly on both ſides. The Perſians and Sacæ, however, perceiving that the Athenian centre was weak, charged with ſuch force, that they broke through it; this thoſe on the right and left perceived, but did not attempt to ſuccor it till they had put to flight both the wings of the Perſian army; then bending the points of the wings towards their own centre, they encloſed the hitherto victorious Perſians, and cut them in pieces.

‡ It was reported in thoſe times, that the Alcmeonidæ encouraged the Perſians to make a ſecond attempt, by holding up as they approached the ſhore, a ſhield for a ſignal, However it was the Perſian fleet that endeavored to double the Cape of Junium, with a view to ſurpriſe the city of Athens before the army could return.

Herodot. l. vi. c. 101, *&c.*

‖ From Marathon to Athens, is about forty miles.

point the public opinion: For though there was much gold and ſilver ſcattered about, and rich garments and other booty in abundance were found in the tents and ſhips which they had taken, yet he neither had an inclination to touch any thing himſelf, nor permitted others to do it. But notwithſtanding his care, ſome enriched themſelves unknown to him; among whom was Callias the torchbearer.* One of the barbarians happening to meet him in a private place, and probably taking him for a king, on account of his long hair and the fillet which he wore,† proſtrated himſelf before him; and taking him by the hand, ſhowed him a great quantity of gold that was hid in a well. But Callias not leſs cruel than unjuſt, took away the gold, and then killed the man that had given him information of it, leſt he ſhould mention the thing to others. Hence, they tell us, it was, that the comic writers called his family *Laccopluti*, i. e. *enriched by the well*; jeſting upon the place from whence their founder drew his wealth.

The year following, Ariſtides was appointed to the office of *archon*, which gave his name to that year; though, according to Demetrius the Phalerean, he was not archon till after the battle of Platæa, a little before his death. But in the public regiſters we find not any of the name of Ariſtides in the liſt of archons, after Xanthippides, in whoſe archonſhip Mardonius was beaten at Platæa; whereas his name is on record immediately after Phanippus,‡ who was archon the ſame year that the battle was gained at Marathon.

Of all the virtues of Ariſtides, the people were moſt ſtruk with his juſtice, becauſe the public utility was

* Torchbearers, ſtyled in Greek *deduchi*, were perſons dedicated to the ſervice of the gods, and admitted even to the moſt ſacred myſteries. Pauſanias ſpeaks of it as a great happineſs to a woman, that ſhe had ſeen her brother, her huſband, and her ſon, ſucceſſively enjoy this office.

† Both prieſts and kings wore fillets or diadems. It is well known that in ancient times thoſe two dignities were generally veſted in the ſame perſon; and ſuch nations as aboliſhed the kingly office, kept the title of king for a perſon who miniſtered in the principal functions of the prieſthood.

‡ From the regiſters it appears, that Phanippus was archon in the third year of the ſeventyſecond Olympiad. It was therefore in this year that the battle of Marathon was fought, four hundred and ninety years before the birth of Chriſt.

the moſt promoted by it. Thus he, though a poor man and a commoner, gained the royal and divine title of *the Juſt*, which kings and tyrants have never been fond of. It has been their ambition to be ſtyled *Poliorceti, takers of cities*; *Cerauni, thunderbolts*; *Nicanors, conquerors*. Nay, ſome have choſen to be called *Eagles* and *Vultures*, preferring the fame of power to that virtue. Whereas the Deity himſelf, to whom they want to be compared, is diſtinguiſhed by three things, immortality, power, and virtue; and of theſe, virtue is the moſt excellent and divine. For ſpace and the elements are everlaſting; earthquakes, lightning, ſtorms, and torrents have an amazing power; but as for juſtice,* nothing participates of that, without reaſoning and thinking on God. And whereas men entertain three different ſentiments with reſpect to the gods, namely, admiration, fear, and eſteem, it ſhould ſeem that they admire and think them happy by reaſon of their freedom from death and corruption, that they fear and dread them becauſe of their power and ſovereignty, and that they love, honor, and reverence them for their juſtice. Yet, though affected theſe three different ways, they deſire only the two firſt properties of the Deity; immortality which our nature will not admit of, and power which depends chiefly upon fortune; while they fooliſhly neglect virtue, the only divine quality in their power; not conſidering that it is juſtice alone, which makes the life of thoſe that flouriſh moſt in proſperity and high ſtations, heavenly and divine, while injuſtice renders it groveling and brutal.

Ariſtides at firſt was loved and reſpected for his ſurname of *the Juſt*, and afterwards envied as much; the latter, chiefly by the management of Themiſtocles, who gave it out among the people, that Ariſtides had aboliſhed the courts of judicature, by drawing the arbitration of all cauſes to himſelf, and ſo was inſenſibly gaining ſovereign power, though without guards and the other enſigns of it. The people, elevated with the late victory, thought themſelves capable of every thing, and the higheſt reſpect

* Δικης δε και Θεμιδος ωδεν οτι μη τω φρονειν και ΛΟΓΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ το Θειον μεταλαγχανει. In this paſſage λογιζεσθαι is uſed in the ſame ſenſe as in 1 Corinth. xiii. 5. η αγαπη ου ΛΟΓΙΖΕΤΑΙ κακον, which is, we believe, a rare inſtance. Perhaps, in this paſſage of Plutarch, inſtead of οτι, we ſhould read ει.

little enough for them. Uneaſy therefore at finding that any one citizen roſe to ſuch extraordinary honor and diſtinction, they aſſembled at Athens from all the towns in Attica, and baniſhed Ariſtides by the oſtraciſm; diſguiſing their envy of his character under the ſpecious pretence of guarding againſt tyranny.

For the *oſtraciſm* was not a puniſhment for crimes and miſdemeanors, but was very decently called an humbling and leſſening of ſome exceſſive influence and power. In reality it was a mild gratification of envy; for by this means, whoever was offended at the growing greatneſs of another, diſcharged his ſpleen, not in any thing cruel or inhuman, but only in voting a ten years baniſhment. But when it once began to fall upon mean and profligate perſons, it was ever after entirely laid aſide; Hyperbolus being the laſt that was exiled by it.

The reaſon of its turning upon ſuch a wretch was this: Alcibiades and Nicias, who were perſons of the greateſt intereſt in Athens, had each his party; but perceiving that the people were going to proceed to the oſtraciſm, and that one of them was likely to ſuffer by it, they conſulted together, and joining intereſts, cauſed it to fall upon Hyperbolus. Hereupon the people, full of indignation at finding this kind of puniſhment diſhonored and turned into ridicule, aboliſhed it entirely.

The oſtraciſm (to give a ſummary account of it) was conducted in the following manner: Every citizen took a piece of a broken pot, or a ſhell, on which he wrote the name of the perſon he wanted to have baniſhed, and carried it to a part of the market place that was encloſed with wooden rails. The magiſtrates then counted the number of the ſhells; and if it amounted not to ſix thouſand, the oſtraciſm ſtood for nothing; if it did, they ſorted the ſhells, and the perſon whoſe name was found on the greateſt number, was declared an exile for ten years, but with permiſſion to enjoy his eſtate.

At the time that Ariſtides was baniſhed, when the people were inſcribing the names on the ſhells, it was reported that an illiterate burgher came to Ariſtides, whom he took for ſome ordinary perſon, and giving him his ſhell, deſired him to write Ariſtides upon it. The good man, ſurpriſed at the adventure, aſked him, "Whether Ariſ-"tides had ever injured him?" "No," ſaid he, "nor do "I even know him; but it vexes me to hear him every

"where called *the Juſt.*" Ariſtides made no anſwer, but took the ſhell, and having written his own name upon it, returned it to the man. When he quitted Athens, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and agreeably to his character, made a prayer very different from that of Achilles; namely, "That the people of Athens might "never ſee the day, which ſhould force them to remem- "ber Ariſtides."

Three years after, when Xerxes was paſſing through Theſſaly and Bœotia by long marches to Attica, the Athenians reverſed this decree, and by a public ordinance recalled all the exiles. The principal inducement was their fear of Ariſtides; for they were apprehenſive that he would join the enemy, corrupt great part of the citizens, and draw them over to the intereſt of the barbarians. But they little knew the man. Before this ordinance of theirs, he had been exciting and encouraging the Greeks to defend their liberty; and after it, when Themiſtocles was appointed to the command of the Athenian forces, he aſſiſted him both with his perſon and counſel, not diſdaining to raiſe his worſt enemy to the higheſt pitch of glory for the public good. For when Eurybiades, the commander in chief, had reſolved to quit Salamis,* and before he could put his purpoſe into execution, the enemy's fleet, taking advantage of the night, had ſurrounded the iſlands, and in a manner blocked up the ſtraits, without any one's perceiving that the confederates were ſo hemmed in, Ariſtides ſailed in the ſame night from Ægina, and paſſed with the utmoſt danger through the Perſian fleet. As ſoon as he reached the tent of Themiſtocles, he deſired to ſpeak with him in private, and then addreſſed him in theſe terms: "You and I, Themiſto- "cles, if we are wiſe, ſhall now bid adieu to our vain "and childiſh diſputes, and enter upon a nobler and "more ſalutary contention, ſtriving which of us ſhall "contribute moſt to the preſervation of Greece; you in "doing the duty of a general, and I in aſſiſting you "with my ſervice and advice. I find that you alone "have hit upon the beſt meaſures, in adviſing to come

* Eurybiades was for ſtanding away for the gulf of Corinth, that he might be near the land army. But Themiſtocles clearly ſaw, that in the ſtraits of Salamis they could fight the Perſian fleet, which was ſo vaſtly ſuperior in numbers, with much greater advantage than in the gulf of Corinth, where there was an open ſea.

"immediately to an engagement in the ſtraits. And "though the allies oppoſe your deſign, the enemy pro- "mote it. For the ſea on all ſides is covered with their "ſhips, ſo that the Greeks, whether they will or not, "muſt come to action and acquit themſelves like men, "there being no room left for flight."

Themiſtocles anſwered, "I could have wiſhed, Ariſti- "des, that you had not been beforehand with me in this "noble emulation; but I will endeavor to outdo this "happy beginning of yours by my future actions." At the ſame time he acquainted him with the ſtratagem he had contrived to enſnare the barbarians,* and then deſired him to go, and make it appear to Eurybiades, that there could be no ſafety for them without venturing a ſea-fight there; for he knew that Ariſtides had much greater influence over him than he. In the council of war, aſſembled on this occaſion, Cleocritus the Corinthian ſaid to Themiſtocles, "Your advice is not agreeable to Ariſt- "ides, ſince he is here preſent and ſays nothing." "You "are miſtaken," ſaid Ariſtides, "for I ſhould not have "been ſilent, had not the counſel of Themiſtocles been "the moſt eligible. And now I hold my peace, not out "of regard to the man, but becauſe I approve his ſenti- "ments." This, therefore, was what the Grecian officers fixed upon.

Ariſtides then perceiving that the little iſland of Pſyt-talia, which lies in the ſtraits over againſt Salamis, was full of the enemy's troops, put on board the ſmall tranſports a number of the braveſt and moſt reſolute of his countrymen, and made a deſcent upon the iſland; where he attacked the barbarians with ſuch fury, that they were all cut in pieces, except ſome of the principal perſons, who were made priſoners. Among the latter were three ſons of Sandauce the king's ſiſter, whom he ſent immediately to Themiſtocles; and it is ſaid, that by the direction of Euphrantides the diviner, in purſuance of ſome oracle, they were all ſacrificed to Bacchus *Omeſtes*. After this, Ariſtides placed a ſtrong guard round the iſland, to take notice of ſuch as were driven aſhore there, that ſo none of his friends might periſh, nor any of the enemy

* The ſtratagem was to ſend one to acquaint the enemy, that the Greeks were going to quit the ſtraits of Salamis, and therefore if the Perſians were deſirous to cruſh them at once, they muſt fall upon them immediately before they diſperſed.

eſcape. For about Pſyttalia the battle raged the moſt,* and the greateſt efforts were made, as appears from the trophy erected there.

When the battle was over, Themiſtocles, by way of ſounding Ariſtides, ſaid, "That great things were already "done, but greater ſtill remained; for they might con- "quer Aſia in Europe, by making all the ſail they could "to the Helleſpont, to break down the bridge." But Ariſtides exclaimed againſt the propoſal, and bade him think no more of it, but rather conſider and inquire what would be the ſpeedieſt method of driving the Perſians out of Greece, leſt finding himſelf ſhut up with ſuch immenſe forces, and no way left to eſcape, neceſſity might bring him to fight with the moſt deſperate courage. Hereupon, Themiſtocles ſent to Xerxes, the ſecond time, by the Eunuch Arnaces, one of the priſoners,† to acquaint him privately, that the Greeks were ſtrongly inclined to make the beſt of their way to the Helleſpont, to deſtroy the bridge which he had left there; but that, in order to ſave his royal perſon, Themiſtocles was uſing his beſt endeavors to diſſuade them from it. Xerxes, terrified at this news, made all poſſible haſte to the Helleſpont; leaving Mardonius behind him with the land forces, conſiſting of three hundred thouſand of his beſt troops.

In the ſtrength of ſuch an army Mardonius was very formidable; and the fears of the Greeks were heightened by his menacing letters, which were in this ſtyle: "At "ſea in your wooden towers you have defeated landmen, "unpractiſed at the oar; but there are ſtill the wide "plains of Theſſaly and the fields of Bœotia, where both "horſe and foot may fight to the beſt advantage." To the Athenians he wrote in particular, being authoriſed by the king to aſſure them, that their city ſhould be rebuilt, large ſums beſtowed upon them, and the ſovereignty of Greece put in their hands, if they would take no farther ſhare in the war.‡

* The battle of Salamis was fought in the year before Chriſt 480.

† This expedient anſwered two purpoſes. By it he drove the king of Perſia out of Europe; and in appearance conferred an obligation upon him, which might be remembered to the advantage of Themiſtocles, when he came to have occaſion for it.

‡ He made theſe propoſals by Alexander king of Macedon, who delivered them in a ſet ſpeech.

As ſoon as the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of theſe propoſals, they were greatly alarmed, and ſent ambaſſadors to Athens, to entreat the people to ſend their wives and children to Sparta,* and to accept from them what was neceſſary for the ſupport of ſuch as were in years; for the Athenians, having loſt both their city and country, were certainly in great diſtreſs. Yet when they had heard what the ambaſſadors had to ſay, they gave them ſuch an anſwer, by the direction of Ariſtides, as can never be ſufficiently admired. They ſaid, "They could eaſily forgive their enemies for thinking that every thing was to be purchaſed with ſilver and gold, becauſe they had no idea of any thing more excellent; but they could not help being diſpleaſed that the Lacedæmonians ſhould regard only their preſent poverty and diſtreſs, and, forgetful of their virtue and magnanimity, call upon them to fight for Greece, for the paltry conſideration of a ſupply of proviſions." Ariſtides having drawn up this anſwer in the form of a decree, and called all the ambaſſadors to an audience in full aſſembly, bade thoſe of Sparta tell the Lacedæmonians, *That the people of Athens would not take all the gold, either above or under ground, for the liberties of Greece.*

As for thoſe of Mardonius, he pointed to the ſun, and told them, "As long as this luminary ſhines, ſo long will the Athenians carry on war with the Perſians for their country, which has been laid waſte, and for their temples, which have been profaned and burnt." He likewiſe procured an order, that the prieſts ſhould ſolemnly execrate all that ſhould dare to propoſe an embaſſy to the Medes, or talk of deſerting the alliance of Greece.

When Mardonius had entered Attica the ſecond time, the Athenians retired again to Salamis. And Ariſtides, who on that occaſion went ambaſſador to Sparta, complained to the Lacedæmonians of their delay and neglect in abandoning Athens once more to the barbarians; and preſſed them to haſten to the ſuccor of that part of Greece which was not yet fallen into the enemy's hands. The

* They did not propoſe to the Athenians to ſend their wives and children to Sparta, but only offered to maintain them during the war. They obſerved, that the original quarrel was between the Perſians and Athenians; that the Athenians were always wont to be the foremoſt in the cauſe of liberty; and that there was no reaſon to believe the Perſians would obſerve any terms with a people they hated.

Ephori gave him the hearing,* but ſeemed attentive to nothing put mirth and diverſion, for it was the feſtival of Hyacinthus.† At night, however, they ſelected five thouſand Spartans, with orders to take each ſeven *helots* with him, and to march before morning, unknown to the Athenians. When Ariſtides came to make his remonſtrances again, they ſmiled, and told him, "That he did "but trifle or dream, ſince their army was at that time as "far as Oreſtium, on their march againſt the foreigners," for ſo the Lacedæmonians called the barbarians. Ariſtides told them, "It was not a time to jeſt, or to put their ſtra-"tagems in practice upon their friends, but on their "enemies." This is the account Idomeneus gives of the matter; but in Ariſtides's decree, Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides are ſaid to have gone upon the embaſſy, and not Ariſtides.

Ariſtides, however, was appointed to command the Athenians in the battle that was expected, and marched with eight thouſand foot to Platæa. There Pauſanias, who was commander in chief of all the confederates, joined him with his Spartans, and the other Grecian troops arrived daily in great numbers. The Perſian army which was encamped along the river Aſopas, occupied an immenſe tract of ground; and they had fortified a ſpot ten furlongs ſquare, for their baggage and other things of value.

In the Grecian army there was a diviner of Elis, named Tiſamenus,‡ who foretold certain victory to Pauſanias and the Greeks in general, if they did not attack the enemy, but ſtood only upon the defenſive. And Ariſtides having ſent to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, received

* They put off their anſwer from time to time, until they had gained ten days; in which time they finiſhed the wall acroſs the Iſthmus, which ſecured them againſt the barbarians.

† Among the Spartans the feaſt of Hyacinthus laſted three days; the firſt and laſt were days of ſorrow and mourning for Hyacinthus's death, but the ſecond was a day of rejoicing, celebrated with all manner of diverſions.

‡ The oracle having promiſed Tiſamenus five great victories, the Lacedæmonians were deſirous of having him for their diviner, but he demanded to be admitted a citizen of Sparta, which was refuſed at firſt. However, upon the approach of the Perſians, he obtained that privilege both for himſelf and his brother Hegias. This would ſcarce have been worth mentioning, had not thoſe two been the only ſtrangers that were ever made citizens of Sparta.

this anſwer: "The Athenians ſhall be victorious, if they "addreſs their prayers to Jupiter, to Juno of Cithæron, "to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides;* if they ſa- "crifice to the heroes, Androcrates, Leucon, Piſander, "Damocrates, Hypſion, Actæon, and Polydius; and if "they fight only in their own country, on the plain of "the Eleuſinian Ceres and of Proſerpine." This oracle perplexed Ariſtides not a little. For the heroes to whom he was commanded to ſacrifice, were the anceſtors of the Plataeans, and the cave of the nymphs Sphragitides in one of the ſummits of mount Cithæron, oppoſite the quarter where the ſun ſets in the ſummer; and it is ſaid, in that cave there was formerly an oracle, by which many who dwelt in thoſe parts were inſpired, and therefore called *Nympholepti*. On the other hand, to have the promiſe of victory only on condition of fighting in their own country, on the plain of the Eleuſinian Ceres, was calling the Athenians back to Attica, and removing the ſeat of war.

In the mean time Arimneſtus, general of the Plataeans, dreamt that Jupiter *the Preſerver* aſked him, "What the "Greeks had determined to do?" To which he anſwered, "Tomorrow they will decamp and march to Eleuſis, to "fight the barbarians there, agreeable to the oracle." The god replied, "They quite miſtake its meaning; for "the place intended by the oracle is in the environs of "Plataea, and if they ſeek for it, they will find it." The matter being ſo clearly revealed to Arimneſtus, as ſoon as he awoke, he ſent for the oldeſt and moſt experienced of his countrymen, and having adviſed with them, and made the beſt inquiry, he found that near Huſiae, at the foot of mount Cithæron, there was an ancient temple called the temple of the Eleuſinian Ceres, and of Proſerpine. He immediately conducted Ariſtides to the place, which appeared to be very commodious for drawing up an army of foot, that was deficient in cavalry, becauſe the bottom of mount Cithæron extending as far as the temple, made the extremities of the field on that ſide inacceſſible to the

* The nymphs of mount Cithæron were called Sphragitides from the cave Sphragidion, which probably had its name from the ſilence obſerved in it by the perſons who went thither to be inſpired; ſilence being deſcribed by *ſealing* the lips.

horſe.* In that place was alſo the chapel of the hero Androcrates, quite covered with thick buſhes and trees. And that nothing might be wanting to fulfil the oracle and confirm their hopes of victory, the Platæans reſolved, at the motion of Arimneſtus, to remove their boundaries between their country and Attica, and, for the ſake of Greece, to make a grant of thoſe lands to the Athenians, that, according to the oracle, they might fight in their own territories. This generoſity of the Platæans gained them ſo much renown, that many years after, when Alexander had conquered Aſia, he ordered the walls of Platæa to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by an herald at the Olympic games, "That the king granted the "Platæans this favor, on account of their virtue and gen-"eroſity, in giving up their lands to the Greeks in the "Perſian war, and otherwiſe behaving with the greateſt "vigor and ſpirit."

When the confederates came to have their ſeveral poſts aſſigned them, there was a great diſpute between the Tegetæ and the Athenians; the Tegetæ inſiſting, that, as the Lacedæmonians were poſted in the right wing, the left belonged to them, and in ſupport of their claim, ſetting forth the gallant actions of their anceſtors. As the Athenians expreſſed great indignation at this, Ariſtides ſtepped forward and ſaid, "The time will not permit us "to conteſt with the Tegetæ the renown of their anceſ-"tors and their perſonal bravery; but to the Spartans "and to the reſt of the Greeks we ſay, that the poſt nei-"ther gives valor nor takes it away; and whatever poſt "you aſſign us, we will endeavor to do honor to it, and "take care to reflect no diſgrace upon our former "achievements. For we are not come hither to quarrel "with our allies, but to fight our enemies; not to make "encomiums upon our forefathers, but to approve our "own courage in the cauſe of Greece. And the battle "will ſoon ſhow what value our country ſhould ſet on "every ſtate, every general, and private man." After this ſpeech, the council of war declared in favor of the Athenians, and gave them the command of the left wing.

* Αφιππα ποιησας τα καταληγοντα και συγκυρηντα τω πεδιω προς το ειρον.

While the fate of Greece was in ſuſpenſe, the affairs of the Athenians were in a very dangerous poſture. For thoſe of the beſt families and fortunes, being reduced by the war, and ſeeing their authority in the ſtate and their diſtinction gone with their wealth, and others riſing to honors and employments, aſſembled privately in a houſe at Platæa, and conſpired to aboliſh the democracy; and, if that did not ſucceed, to ruin all Greece, and betray it to the barbarians. When Ariſtides got intelligence of the conſpiracy thus entered into in the camp, and found that numbers were corrupted, he was greatly alarmed at its happening at ſuch a criſis, and unreſolved at firſt how to proceed. At length he determined neither to leave the matter uninquired into, nor yet to ſift it thoroughly, becauſe he knew not how far the contagion had ſpread, and thought it adviſeable to ſacrifice juſtice, in ſome degree, to the public good, by forbearing to proſecute many that were guilty. He, therefore, cauſed eight perſons only to be apprehended, and of thoſe eight no more than two who were moſt guilty, to be proceeded againſt, Æſchines of Lampra and Ageſias of Acharnæ; and even *they* made their eſcape during the proſecution. As for the reſt he diſcharged them, and gave them, and all that were concerned in the plot, opportunity to recover their ſpirits and change their ſentiments, as they might imagine that nothing was made out againſt them; but he admoniſhed them at the ſame time, "That the battle was the great tribunal, "where they might clear themſelves of the charge, and "ſhow that they had never followed any counſels but ſuch "as were juſt and uſeful to their country."

After this,* Mardonius, to make a trial of the Greeks, ordered his cavalry, in which he was ſtrongeſt, to ſkirmiſh with them. The Greeks were all encamped at the foot of Mount Cithæron, in ſtrong and ſtoney places; except the Megarenſians, who, to the number of three thouſand, were poſted on the plain, and by this means ſuffered much by the enemy's horſe, who charged them on every ſide. Unable to ſtand againſt ſuch ſuperior numbers, they def-

* The battle of Platæa was fought in the year before Chriſt 479, the year after that of Salamis. Herodotus was then about nine or ten years old, and had his accounts from perſons that were preſent in the battle. And he informs us that the circumſtance here related by Plutarch, happened before the Greeks left their camp at Erythræ, in order to encamp round to Platæa, and before the conteſt between the Tegetæ and the Athenians. Lib. ix. c. 29, 30, &c.

patched a meſſenger to Pauſanias for aſſiſtance. Pauſanias hearing their requeſt, and ſeeing the camp of the Megarenſians darkened with the ſhower of darts and arrows, and that they were forced to contract themſelves within a narrow compaſs, was at a loſs what to reſolve on; for he knew that his heavy armed Spartans were not fit to act againſt cavalry. He endeavored, therefore, to awaken the emulation of the generals and other officers that were about him, that they might make it a point of honor voluntarily to undertake the defence and ſuccor of the Megarenſians. But they all declined it, except Ariſtides, who made an offer of his Athenians, and gave immediate orders to Olympiodorus, one of the moſt active of his officers, to advance with a ſelect band of three hundred men and ſome archers intermixed. They were all ready in a moment, and ran to attack the barbarians. Maſiſtius, general of the Perſian horſe, a man diſtinguiſhed for his ſtrength and graceful mien, no ſooner ſaw them advancing, than he ſpurred his horſe againſt them. The Athenians received him with great firmneſs, and a ſharp conflict enſued; for they conſidered this as a ſpecimen of the ſucceſs of the whole battle. At laſt Maſiſtius's horſe was wounded with an arrow, and threw his rider, who could not recover himſelf becauſe of the weight of his armor, nor yet be eaſily ſlain by the Athenians that ſtrove which ſhould do it firſt, becauſe not only his body and his head, but his legs and arms, were covered with plates of gold, braſs, and iron. But the vizor of his helmet leaving part of his face open, one of them pierced him in the eye with the ſtaff of his ſpear, and ſo deſpatched him. The Perſians then left the body and fled.

The importance of this achievement appeared to the Greeks, not by the number of their enemies lying dead upon the field, for that was but ſmall, but by the mourning of the barbarians, who in their grief for Maſiſtius, cut off their hair, and the manes of their horſes and mules, and filled all the plain with their cries and groans, as having loſt the man that was next to Mardonius in courage and authority.

After this engagement with the Perſian cavalry, both ſides forbore the combat a long time; for the diviners, from the entrails of the victims, equally aſſured the Perſians and the Greeks of victory, if they ſtood upon the de-

ſenſive, and threatened a total defeat to the aggreſſors. But at length Mardonius ſeeing but a few days proviſion left, and that the Grecian forces increaſed daily by the arrival of freſh troops, grew uneaſy at the delay, and reſolved to paſs the Aſopus next morning by break of day, and fall upon the Greeks, whom he hoped to find unprepared. For this purpoſe he gave his orders over night. But at midnight a man on horſeback ſoftly approached the Grecian camp, and addreſſing himſelf to the ſentinels, bade them call Ariſtides the Athenian general to him. Ariſtides came immediately, and the unknown perſon ſaid, "I am Alexander king of Macedon, who, for the friend-"ſhip I bear you, have expoſed myſelf to the greateſt dan-"gers, to prevent your fighting under the diſadvantage "of a ſurpriſe. For Mardonius will give you battle to-"morrow; not that he is induced to it by any well-"grounded hope or proſpect of ſucceſs, but by the ſcar-"city of proviſions; for the ſoothſayers by their ominous "ſacrifices, and ill boding oracles endeavor to divert "him from it; but neceſſity forces him either to hazard "a battle, or to ſit ſtill and ſee his whole army periſh "through want." Alexander having thus opened himſelf to Ariſtides, deſired him to take notice and avail himſelf of the intelligence, but not to communicate it to any other perſon.* Ariſtides, however, thought it wrong to conceal it from Pauſanias, who was commander in chief; but he promiſed not to mention the thing to any one beſides, until after the battle; and aſſured him at the ſame time, that if the Greeks proved victorious, the whole army ſhould be acquainted with this kindneſs and glorious daring of Alexander.

The king of Macedon, having deſpatched this affair, returned, and Ariſtides went immediately to the tent of Pauſanias, and laid the whole before him; whereupon the other officers were ſent for, and ordered to put the troops under arms, and have them ready for battle. At the ſame time, according to Herodotus, Pauſanias informed Ariſtides of his deſign to alter the diſpoſition of the army, by removing the Athenians from the left wing to the right, and ſetting them oppoſe the Perſians;

* According to Herodotus, Alexander had excepted Pauſanias out of this charge of ſecrecy; and this is moſt probable, becauſe Pauſanias was commander in chief.

againſt whom they would act with the more bravery, becauſe they had made proof of their manner of fighting, and with greater aſſurance of ſucceſs, becauſe they had already ſucceeded. As for the left wing, which would have to do with thoſe Greeks that had embraced the Median intereſt, he intended to command there himſelf.* The other Athenian officers thought Pauſanias carried it with a partial and high hand, in moving them up and down, like ſo many *helots*, at his pleaſure, to face the boldeſt of the enemy's troops, while he left the reſt of the confederates in their poſts. But Ariſtides told them, they were under a great miſtake, "You contended," ſaid he, "a few "days ago with the Tegetæ for the command of the left "wing, and valued yourſelves upon the preference; and "now when the Spartans voluntarily offer you the right "wing, which is in effect giving up to you the command "of the whole army, you are neither pleaſed with the "honor, nor ſenſible of the advantage of not being obliged to fight againſt your countrymen and thoſe who have "the ſame origin with you, but againſt barbarians your "natural enemies."

Theſe words had ſuch an effect upon the Athenians that they readily agreed to change poſts with the Spartans, and nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to act with bravery. They obſerved, "That "the enemy brought neither better arms nor bolder "hearts than they had at Marathon, but came with the "ſame bows, the ſame embroidered veſts and profuſion "of gold, the ſame effeminate bodies, and the ſame unmanly ſouls. For our part," continued they, "we "have the ſame weapons and ſtrength of body, together "with additional ſpirits from our victories; and we do "not, like them, fight for a tract of land or a ſingle city, "but for the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, that the "people of Athens, and not Miltiades and fortune, may "have the glory of them."

While they were thus encouraging each other, they haſtened to their new poſt. But the Thebans being informed of it by deſerters, ſent and acquainted Mardonius; who, either out of fear of the Athenians, or from an

* Herodotus ſays the contrary; namely, that all the Athenian officers were ambitious of that poſt, but did not think proper to propoſe it for fear of diſobliging the Spartans.

ambition to try his ſtrength with the Lacedæmonians, immediately moved the Perſians to his right wing, and the Greeks that were of his party, to the left, oppoſite to the Athenians. This change in the diſpoſition of the enemy's army being known, Pauſanias made another movement, and paſſed to the right; which Mardonius, perceiving, returned to the left, and ſo ſtill faced the Lacedæmonians. Thus the day paſſed without any action at all. In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which they determined to decamp, and take poſſeſſion of a place more commodious for water, becauſe the ſprings of their preſent camp were diſturbed and ſpoiled by the enemy's horſe.

When night was come,* and the officers began to march at the head of their troops to the place marked out for a new camp, the ſoldiers followed unwillingly, and could not without great difficulty be kept together; for they were no ſooner out of their firſt intrenchments, than many of them made off to the city of Platæa, and either diſperſing there, or pitching their tents without any regard to diſcipline, were in the utmoſt confuſion. It happened that the Lacedæmonians alone were left behind, though againſt their will. For Amompharetus, an intrepid man, who had long been eager to engage, and uneaſy to ſee the battle ſo often put off and delayed, plainly called this decampment a diſgraceful flight, and declared, "He "would not quit his poſt, but remain there with his "troops, and ſtand it out againſt Mardonius." And when Pauſanias repreſented to him, that this meaſure was taken in purſuance of the counſel and determination of the confederates, he took up a large ſtone with both his hands, and throwing it at Pauſanias's feet, ſaid, "This "is my ballot for a battle; and I deſpiſe the timid coun-"ſels and reſolves of others." Pauſanias was at a loſs what to do, but at laſt ſent to the Athenians, who by this time were advancing, and deſired them to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a body; at the ſame time he marched with the reſt of the troops towards

* On this occaſion Mardonius did not fail to inſult Artabazus, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the falſe notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who, as he pretended, never fled before the enemy.

Platæa, hoping by that means to draw Amompharetus after him.

By this time it was day, and Mardonius,* who was not ignorant that the Greeks had quitted their camp, put his army in order of battle, and bore down upon the Spartans; the barbarians ſetting up ſuch ſhouts, and clanking their arms in ſuch a manner, as if they expected to have only the plundering of fugitives, and not a battle. And indeed it was like to have been ſo: For though Pauſanias, upon ſeeing this motion of Mardonius, ſtopped, and ordered every one to his poſt, yet, either confuſed with his reſentment againſt Amompharetus, or with the ſudden attack of the Perſians, he forgot to give his troops the word; and for that reaſon they neither engaged readily, nor in a body, but continued ſcattered in ſmall parties, even after the fight was begun.

Pauſanias in the mean time offered ſacrifice; but ſeeing no auſpicious tokens, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to lay down their ſhields at their feet, and to ſtand ſtill, and attend his orders, without oppoſing the enemy. After this he offered other ſacrifices, the Perſian cavalry ſtill advancing. They were now within bow ſhot, and ſome of the Spartans were wounded; among whom was Callicrates, a man that for ſize and beauty exceeded the whole army. This brave ſoldier being ſhot with an arrow, and ready to expire, ſaid, "He did not lament his death, "becauſe he came out reſolved to ſhed his blood for "Greece; but he was ſorry to die without having once "drawn his ſword againſt the enemy."

If the terror of this ſituation was great, the ſteadineſs and patience of the Spartans was wonderful; for they made no defence againſt the enemy's charge, but waiting the time of heaven and their general, ſuffered themſelves to be wounded and ſlain in their ranks.

* Having paſſed the Aſopus, he came up with the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ, who were ſeparated from the body of the army, to the number of fifty-three thouſand. Pauſanias, finding himſelf thus attacked by the whole Perſian army, deſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint the Athenians, who had taken another route, with the danger he was in. The Athenians immediately put themſelves on their march to ſuccor their diſtreſſed allies, but were attacked, and, to their great regret, prevented by thoſe Greeks who ſided with the Perſians. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the Spartans were the firſt who broke into the centre of the Perſian army, and, after moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, put them to flight.

Some ſay, that, as Pauſanius was ſacrificing and praying at a little diſtance from the lines, certain Lydians coming ſuddenly upon him, ſeized and ſcattered the ſacred utenſils,* and that Pauſanias and thoſe about him, having no weapons, drove them away with rods and ſcourges. And they will have it to be in imitation of this aſſault of the Lydians, that they celebrate a feſtival at Sparta now, in which boys are ſcourged round the altar, and which concludes with a march called the *Lydian march.*

Pauſanias, extremely afflicted at theſe circumſtances, while the prieſt offered ſacrifice upon ſacrifice, turning towards the temple of Juno, and with tears trickling from his eyes and uplifted hands, prayed to that goddeſs the protectreſs of Cithæron, and to the other tutelar deities of the Platæans, "That if the fates had not decreed that "the Grecians ſhould conquer, they might at leaſt be "permitted to ſell their lives dear, and ſhow the enemy "by their deeds, that they had brave men and experienced "ſoldiers to deal with."

The very moment that Pauſanias was uttering this prayer, the tokens ſo much deſired appeared in the victim, and the diviners announced him victory. Orders were immediately given the whole army to come to action, and the Spartan phalanx all at once had the appearance of ſome fierce animal, erecting his briſtles, and preparing to exert his ſtrength. The barbarians then ſaw clearly that they had to do with men who were ready to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood; and, therefore, covering themſelves with their targets, ſhot their arrows againſt the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians moving forward in a cloſe compact body, fell upon the Perſians, and forcing their targets from them, directed their pikes againſt their faces and breaſts, and brought many of them to the ground. However, when they were down, they continued to give proofs of their ſtrength and courage; for they laid hold on the pikes with their naked hands and broke them; and then ſpringing up, betook themſelves to their ſwords and battle axes, and wreſting away

* ἁρπαξειν και διαρριπτειν τα περι την θυσιαν. As τα περι την θυσιαν may be rendered either *the ſacrifice* or *the ſacred utenſils*, we have made choice of the latter.

their enemies ſhields and grappling cloſe with them, made a long and obſtinate reſiſtance.

The Athenians all this while ſtood ſtill, expecting the Lacedæmonians; but when the noiſe of the battle reached them, and an officer, as we are told, deſpatched by Pauſanias, gave them an account that the engagement was begun, they haſtened to his aſſiſtance; and as they were croſſing the plain towards the place where the noiſe was heard, the Greeks who ſided with the enemy, puſhed againſt them. As ſoon as Ariſtides ſaw them, he advanced a conſiderable way before his troops, and calling out to them with all his force, conjured them by the Gods of Greece, "To renounce this impious war, and not oppoſe "the Athenians, who were running to the ſuccor of thoſe "that were now the firſt to hazard their lives for the ſafe-"ty of Greece." But finding that inſtead of harkening to him, they approached in a hoſtile manner, he quitted his deſign of going to aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians, and joined battle with theſe Greeks, who were above five thouſand in number. But the greateſt part ſoon gave way and retreated, eſpecially when they heard that the barbarians were put to flight. The ſharpeſt part of this action is ſaid to have been with the Thebans; among whom the firſt in quality and power having embraced the Median intereſt, by their authority carried out the common people againſt their inclination.

The battle thus divided into two parts, the Lacedæmonians firſt broke and routed the Perſians; and Mardonius* himſelf was ſlain by a Spartan named Arimneſtus,† who broke his ſkull with a ſtone, as the oracle of Amphiaraus had fortold him. For Mardonius had ſent a Lydian to conſult this oracle, and at the ſame time a Carian to the cave of Trophonius.‡ The prieſt of Trophonius anſwered the Carian in his own language; but

* Mardonius, mounted on a white horſe, ſignalized himſelf greatly; and, at the head of a thouſand choſen men, killed a great number of the enemy; but when he fell, the whole Perſian army was eaſily routed.

† In ſome copies he is called Diamneſtus. Arimneſtus was general of the Plataeans.

‡ The cave of Trophonius was near the city of Labadia in Boeotia, above Delphi. Mardonius had ſent to conſult, not only this oracle, but almoſt all the other oracles in the country, ſo reſtleſs and uneaſy was he about the event of the war.

the Lydian, as he ſlept in the temple of Amphiaraus,* thought he ſaw a miniſter of the god approach him, who commanded him to begone, and, upon his refuſal, threw a great ſtone at his head, ſo that he believed himſelf killed by the blow. Such is the account we have of that affair.

The barbarians, flying before the Spartans, were purſued to their camp, which they had fortified with wooden walls. And ſoon after the Athenians routed the Thebans, killing three hundred perſons of the firſt diſtinction on the ſpot. Juſt as the Thebans began to give way, news was brought that the barbarians were ſhut up and beſieged in their wooden fortification; the Athenians, therefore, ſuffering the Greeks to eſcape, haſtened to aſſiſt in the ſiege; and finding that the Lacedæmonians, unſkilled in the ſtorming of walls, made but a ſlow progreſs, they attacked and took the camp,† with a prodigious ſlaughter of the enemy. For it is ſaid that of three hundred thouſand men, only forty thouſand eſcaped with Artabazus;‡ whereas of thoſe that fought in the cauſe of Greece, no more were ſlain than one thouſand three hundred and ſixty; among whom were fiftytwo Athenians, all, according to Clidemus, of the tribe of Aiantis, which greatly diſtinguiſhed itſelf in that action. And therefore, by order of the Delphic oracle, the Aiantidæ offered a yearly ſacrifice of thankſgiving for the victory to the nymphs *Sphragitides*, having the expenſe defrayed out of the treaſury. The Lacedæmonians loſt ninetyone, and the Tegetæ ſixteen. But it is ſurpriſing, that‖ Herodotus

* Amphiaraus, in his lifetime, had been a great interpreter of dreams, and therefore, after his death, gave his oracles by dreams; for which purpoſe thoſe that conſulted him, ſlept in his temple, on the ſkin of a ram, which they had ſacrificed to him.

† The ſpoil was immenſe, conſiſting of vaſt ſums of money, of gold and ſilver cups, veſſels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all ſorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to Pauſanias.

‡ Artabazus, who, from Mardonius's imprudent conduct, had but too well foreſeen the misfortune that befel him, after having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the forty thouſand men he had commanded, arrived ſafe at Byzantium, and from thence paſſed over into Aſia. Beſide theſe, only three thouſand men eſcaped. *Herodot.* l. ix. c. 31.—69.

‖ Dacier has ſhown very clearly, that Plutarch miſunderſtood an expreſſion in the 70th ch. of the 11th book of Herodotus; and that this miſtake of his own, led him to impute one to that hiſtorian.

ſhould ſay that theſe were the only Greeks that engaged the barbarians, and that no other were concerned in the action. For both the number of the ſlain and the monuments ſhow, that it was the common achievement of the confederates; and the altar erected on that occaſion would not have had the following inſcription, if only three ſtates had engaged, and the reſt had ſat ſtill:

> The Greeks, their country freed, the Perſians ſlain,
> Have rear'd this altar on the glorious field.
> To freedom's patron, Jove———

This battle was fought on the fourth of Boedromion, [*September**] according to the Athenian way of reckoning; but according to the Bœotian computation, on the twentyfourth of the month *Pamemus*. And on that day there is ſtill a general aſſembly of the Greeks at Platæa, and the Platæans ſacrifice to Jupiter *the deliverer*, for the victory. Nor is this difference of days in the Grecian months to be wondered at, ſince even now, when the ſcience of aſtronomy is ſo much improved, the months begin and end differently in different places.

This victory went near to be the ruin of Greece. For the Athenians, unwilling to allow the Spartans the honor of the day, or to conſent that they ſhould erect the trophy, would have referred it to the deciſion of the ſword, had not Ariſtides taken great pains to explain the matter, and pacify the other generals, particularly Leocrates and Myronides; perſuading them to leave it to the judgment of the Greeks. A council was called accordingly in which Theogiton gave it as his opinion, "That thoſe "two ſtates ſhould give up the palm to a third, if they

The expreſſion is, ἀλλων μεν ουδεν εχω απομαρτυρασθαι, which Plutarch muſt have ſuppoſed to mean, *I cannot bear witneſs for any other of the Greeks*, whereas the real meaning is, *of which I cannot give a better proof.*

* Dacier has it *October* in his tranſlation, but he juſtly obſerves in a note, that an Athenian month does not anſwer exactly to one of ours, but to part of one and part of another; *Boedromion*, for inſtance, begins about the fifteenth of September, and ends about the fifteenth of October. So that the battle of Platæa muſt, according to our computation, have been on the nineteenth of September at leaſt; that is, as near as we can fix it. Nor does Plutarch ſeem to have been ſure; for, in the life of Camillus, he ſays this battle was fought on the third of Boedromion. But we rather think ſome error has crept into the text, ſince being a Bœotian himſelf, he could not be ignorant what day the feſtival of that victory was held.

"desired to prevent a civil war." Then Cleocritus the Corinthian rose up, and it was expected he would set forth the pretensions of Corinth to the prize of valor, as the city next in dignity to Sparta and Athens; but they were most agreeably surprised when they found that he spoke in behalf of the Plataeans, and proposed, "That all dis-"putes laid aside, the palm should be adjudged to them, "since neither of the contending parties could be jealous "of them." Aristides was the first to give up the point for the Athenians, and then Pausanias did the same for the Lacedæmonians.*

The confederates thus reconciled, eighty talents were sent apart for the Plataeans, with which they built a temple, and erected a statue to Minerva; adorning the temple with paintings, which to this day retain their original beauty and lustre. Both the Lacedæmonians and Athenians erected trophies separately; and sending to consult the oracle at Delphi, about the sacrifice they were to offer, they were directed by Apollo, "To build an altar to Ju-"piter *the deliverer*, but not to offer any sacrifice upon it "till they had extinguished all the fire in the country, "(because it had been polluted by the barbarians,) and "supplied themselves with pure fire from the common al-"tar, at Delphi." Hereupon the Grecian generals went all over the country, and caused the fires to be put out; and Euchidas a Plataean, undertaking to fetch fire, with all imaginable speed, from the altar of the god, went to Delphi, sprinkled and purified himself there with water, put a crown of laurel on his head, took fire from the altar, and then hastened back to Platæa, where he arrived before sunset, thus performing a journey of a thousand furlongs in one day. But having saluted his fellow citizens, and delivered the fire, he fell down on the spot, and presently expired. The Plataeans carried him to the temple of Diana, surnamed Eucleia, and buried him there, putting this short inscription on his tomb:

> Here lies *Euchidas*, who went to Delphi, and returned the same day.

* As to individuals, when they came to determine which had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment in favor of Aristodemus, who was the only one that had saved himself at Thermopylæ, and now wiped off the blemish of his former conduct by a glorious death.

As for *Eucleia*, the generality believe her to be Diana, and call her by that name; but ſome ſay, ſhe was daughter to Hercules, and Myrto the daughter of Menœceus, and ſiſter of Patroclus; and that dying a virgin, ſhe had divine honors paid her by the Bæotians and Leocrians. For in the market place of every city of theirs, ſhe has a ſtatue, and an altar where perſons of both ſexes that are bethrothed offer ſacrifice before marriage.

In the firſt general aſſembly of the Greeks after this victory, Ariſtides propoſed a decree, "That deputies from "all the ſtates of Greece ſhould meet annually at Platæa, "to ſacrifice to Jupiter *the deliverer*, and that every fifth "year they ſhould celebrate the games of *liberty*; that a "general levy ſhould be made through Greece of ten "thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and a hundred ſhips, "for the war againſt the barbarians; and that the Platæ-"ans ſhould be exempt, being ſet apart for the ſervice of "the god, to propitiate him in behalf of Greece, and con-"ſequently their perſons to be eſteemed ſacred."

Theſe articles paſſing into a law, the Platæans undertook to celebrate the anniverſary of thoſe that were ſlain and buried in that place, and they continue it to this day. The ceremony is as follows: On the ſixteenth day of Maimacterion, [*November*] which with the Bœotians is the month *Alalcomenius*, the proceſſion begins at break of day, preceded by a trumpet, which ſounds the ſignal of battle. Then follow ſeveral chariots full of garlands and branches of myrtle, and next to the chariots is led a black bull. Then come ſome young men that are free born, carrying veſſels full of wine and milk for the libations, and cruets of oil and perfumed eſſences; no ſlave being allowed to have any ſhare in this ceremony, ſacred to the memory of men that died for liberty. The proceſſion cloſes with the archon of Platæa, who at other times is not allowed either to touch iron, or to wear any garment but a white one; but, that day, he is clothed with a purple robe, and girt with a ſword; and carrying in his hand a water-pot, taken out of the public hall, he walks through the midſt of the city to the tombs. Then he takes water in the pot out of a fountain, and, with his own hands, waſhes the little pillars of the monuments,* and rubs them

* It appears from an epigram of Callimachus, that it was cuſtomary to place little pillars upon the monuments, which the friends of the deceaſed perfumed with eſſences, and crowned with flowers.

with effences. After this, he kills the bull upon a pile of wood; and having made his ſupplications to the terreſtrial Jupiter* and Mercury, he invites thoſe brave men who fell in the cauſe of Greece, to the funeral banquet, and the ſtreams of blood.† Laſt of all, he fills a bowl with wine, and pouring it out, he ſays, "I preſent this bowl to the "men who died for the liberty of Greece." Such is the ceremony ſtill obſerved by the Platæans.

When the Athenians were returned home, Ariſtides obſerving that they uſed their utmoſt endeavors to make the government entirely democratical, conſidered on one ſide, that the people deſerved ſome attention and reſpect, on account of their gallant behavior, and on the other, that being elated with their victories, it would be difficult to force them to depart from their purpoſe; and therefore he cauſed a decree to be made, that all the citizens ſhould have a ſhare in the adminiſtration, and that the *archons* ſhould be choſen out of the whole body of them.

Themiſtocles having one day declared to the general aſſembly that he had thought of an expedient which was very ſalutary to Athens,‡ but ought to be kept ſecret, he was ordered to communicate it to Ariſtides only, and abide by his judgment of it. Accordingly he told him, his project was to burn the whole fleet of the confederates; by which means the Athenians would be raiſed to the ſovereignty of all Greece. Ariſtides then returned to the aſſembly, and acquainted the Athenians, "That nothing "could be more advantageous than the project of The-"miſtocles, nor any thing more unjuſt." And upon his report of the matter, they commanded Themiſtocles to give over all thoughts of it. Such regard had that people for juſtice, and ſo much confidence in the integrity of Ariſtides.

* The terreſtrial Jupiter is Pluto, who, as well as the celeſtial, had his Mercury, or elſe borrowed the meſſenger of the gods of his brother. To be ſure, there might be as well two Mercuries, as two Jupiters; but the conducting of ſouls to the ſhades below is reckoned part of the office of that Mercury who waits upon the Jupiter of the ſhies.

† In Brian's text it is αἱμοκορίας, but an antient manuſcript has it αἱμακορίας, which is underſtood to be the ſame as αἱμοσπασίαν; the ghoſts being ſuppoſed *to be ſatisfied with* the ſtreams of *blood*.

‡ This was before the battle of Platæa, at the time when Xerxes was put to flight, and driven back into Aſia.

Some time after this,* he was joined in commiſſion with Cimon, and ſent againſt the barbarians; where, obſerving that Pauſanias, and the other Spartan generals, behaved with exceſſive haughtineſs, he choſe a quite different manner, ſhowing much mildneſs and condeſcenſion in his whole converſation and addreſs, and prevailing with Cimon to behave with equal goodneſs and affability to the whole league. Thus he inſenſibly drew the chief command from the Lacedæmonians, not by force of arms, horſes, or ſhips, but by his gentle and obliging deportment. For the juſtice of Ariſtides, and the candor of Cimon, having made the Athenians very agreeable to the confederates, their regard was increaſed by the contraſt they found in Pauſanias's avarice and ſeverity of manners. For he never ſpoke to the officers of the allies, but with ſharpneſs and anger, and he ordered many of their men to be flogged, or to ſtand all day with an iron anchor on their ſhoulders. He would not ſuffer any of them to provide themſelves with forage, or ſtraw to lie on, or to go to the ſprings for water, before the Spartans were ſupplied, but placed his ſervants there with rods, to drive away thoſe that ſhould attempt it. And when Ariſtides was going to remonſtrate with him upon it, he knit his brows, and telling him, "He was not at leiſure," refuſed to hear him.

From that time the ſea captains and land officers of the Greeks, particularly thoſe of Chios, Samos, and Leſbos, preſſed Ariſtides to take upon him the command of the confederate forces, and to receive them into his protection, ſince they had long deſired to be delivered from the Spartan yoke, and to act under the orders of the Athenians.—He anſwered, "That he ſaw the neceſſity and juſtice of "what they propoſed, but that the propoſal ought firſt to "be confirmed by ſome act, which would make it impoſ-"ſible for the troops to depart from their reſolution." Hereupon Uliades of Samos, and Antigoras of Chios, conſpiring together, went boldly and attacked Pauſanias's galley at the head of the fleet. Pauſanias upon this inſolence, cried out, in a menacing tone, "He would ſoon "ſhow thoſe fellows, they had not offered this inſult to "his ſhip, but to their own countries." But they told him, "The beſt thing he could do was to retire, and

* Eight years after.

"thank fortune for fighting for him at Platæa; for that "nothing but the regard they had for that great action, "reſtrained the Greeks from wreaking their juſt ven- "geance on him." The concluſion was, that they quitted the Spartan banners, and ranged themſelves under thoſe of the Athenians.

On this occaſion, the magnanimity of the Spartan people appeared with great luſtre. For as ſoon as they perceived their generals were ſpoiled with too much power, they ſent no more, but voluntarily gave up their pretenſions to the chief command; chooſing rather to cultivate in their citizens a principle of modeſty and tenaciouſneſs of the laws and cuſtoms of their country, than to poſſeſs the ſovereign command of Greece.

While the Lacedæmonians had the command, the Greeks paid a certain tax towards the war; and now being deſirous that every city might be more equally rated, they begged the favor of the Athenians that Ariſtides might take it upon him, and gave him inſtructions to inſpect their lands and revenues in order to proportion the burden of each to its ability.

Ariſtides, inveſted with this authority, which, in a manner, made him maſter of all Greece, did not abuſe it. For though he went out poor, he returned poorer, having ſettled the quotas of the ſeveral ſtates, not only juſtly and diſintereſtedly, but with ſo much tenderneſs and humanity, that his aſſeſſment was agreeable and convenient to all. And as the antients praiſed the times of Saturn, ſo the allies of Athens bleſt the ſettlements of Ariſtides, calling it *the happy fortune of Greece*; a compliment which ſoon after appeared ſtill more juſt, when this taxation was twice or three times as high. For that of Ariſtides amounted only to four hundred and ſixty talents, and Pericles increaſed it almoſt one third; for Thucydides writes, that, at the beginning of the war, the Athenians received from their allies ſix hundred talents; and after the death of Pericles, thoſe that had the adminiſtration in their hands raiſed it by little and little to the ſum of thirteen hundred talents. Not that the war grew more expenſive, either by its length or want of ſucceſs, but becauſe they had accuſtomed the people to receive diſtributions of money for the public ſpectacles and other purpoſes, and had made them fond of erecting magnificent ſtatues and temples.

The great and illuſtrious character which Ariſtides acquired by the equity of this taxation, piqued Themiſtocles; and he endeavored to turn the praiſe beſtowed upon him into ridicule, by ſaying, "It was not the praiſe of a "man, but of a money cheſt, to keep treaſure without "diminution." By this he took but a feeble revenge for the freedom of Ariſtides. For one day Themiſtocles happening to ſay, "That he looked upon it as the principal "excellence of a general, to know and foreſee the deſigns "of the enemy," Ariſtides anſwered, "That is indeed a "neceſſary qualification, but there is another very excel-"lent one, and highly becoming a general, and that is to "have clean hands."

When Ariſtides had ſettled the articles of alliance, he called upon the confederates to confirm them with an oath, which he himſelf took on the part of the Athenians; and, at the ſame time, that he uttered the execration on thoſe that ſhould break the articles, he threw red hot pieces of iron into the ſea.* However, when the urgency of affairs afterwards required the Athenians to govern Greece with a ſtricter hand than thoſe conditions juſtified, he adviſed them to let the conſequences of the perjury reſt with him, and purſue the path which expediency pointed out.† Upon the whole, Theophraſtus ſays, that in all his own private concerns, and in thoſe of his fellow citizens, he was inflexibly juſt, but in affairs of ſtate, he did many things, according to the exigency of the caſe, to ſerve his country, which ſeemed often to have need of the aſſiſtance of injuſtice. And he relates, that when it was debated in council, whether the treaſure depoſited at Delos ſhould be brought to Athens, as the Samians had adviſed, though contrary to treaties, on its coming to his turn to ſpeak, he ſaid, "It was not juſt, but it was expe-"dient."

* As much as to ſay, as the fire in theſe pieces of iron is extinguiſhed in a moment, ſo may their days be extinct, who break this covenant.

† Thus even the juſt, the upright Ariſtides, made a diſtinction between his private and political conſcience. A diſtinction which has no manner of foundation in truth or reaſon, and which, in the end, will be productive of ruin, rather than advantage; as all thoſe nations will find, who avail themſelves of injuſtice, to ſerve a preſent occaſion. For ſo much reputation is ſo much power; and ſtates, as well as private perſons, are reſpectable only in their character.

This muſt be ſaid, notwithſtanding, that though he extended the dominions of Athens over ſo many people, he himſelf ſtill continued poor, and eſteemed his poverty no leſs a glory than all the laurels he had won. The following is a clear proof of it. Callias the torch bearer, who was his near relation, was proſecuted in a capital cauſe by his enemies. When they had alleged what they had againſt him, which was nothing very flagrant, they launched out into ſomething foreign to their own charge, and thus addreſſed the judges: "You know Ariſ-"tides the ſon of Lyſimachus, who is juſtly the admiration "of all Greece. When you ſee with what a garb he ap-"pears in public, in what manner do you think he muſt "live at home? Muſt not he who ſhivers here with cold "for want of clothing, be almoſt famiſhed there, and deſ-"titute of all neceſſaries; yet this is the man, whom "Callias, his couſin german, and the richeſt man in "Athens, abſolutely neglects, and leaves, with his wife "and children, in ſuch wretchedneſs; though he has "often made uſe of him, and availed himſelf of his inter-"eſt with you." Callias perceiving that this point affect-ed and exaſperated his judges more than any thing elſe, called for Ariſtides to teſtify before the court, that he had many times offered him conſiderable ſums, and ſtrongly preſſed him to accept them, but he had always refuſed them, in ſuch terms as theſe: "It better becomes Ariſ-"tides to glory in his poverty, than Callias in his riches; "for we ſee every day many people make a good as well "as a bad uſe of riches, but it is hard to find one that "bears poverty with a noble ſpirit; and they only are "aſhamed of it, who are poor againſt their will." When Ariſtides had given in his evidence, there was not a man in the court, who did not leave it with an inclination rather to be poor with him, than rich with Callias. This particular we have from Æſchines, the diſciple of Socrates. And Plato, among all that were accounted great and illuſtrious men in Athens, judged none but Ariſtides worthy of real eſteem. As for Themiſtocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they filled the city with magnificent buildings, with wealth, and the vain ſuperfluities of life; but virtue was the only object that Ariſtides had in view in the whole courſe of his adminiſtration.

We have extraordinary inſtances of the candor with which he behaved towards Themiſtocles. For though he

was his conſtant enemy in all affairs of government, and the means of his baniſhment, yet when Themiſtocles was accuſed of capital crimes againſt the ſtate, and he had an opportunity to pay him in kind, he indulged not the leaſt revenge; but while Alcmæon, Cimon, and many others were accuſing him, and driving him into exile, Ariſtides alone neither did nor ſaid any thing to his diſadvantage; for, as he had not envied his proſperity, ſo now he did not rejoice in his misfortunes.

As to the death of Ariſtides, ſome ſay it happened in Pontus, whither he had ſailed about ſome buſineſs of the ſtate; others ſay he died at Athens, full of days, honored and admired by his fellow citizens: But Craterus the Macedonian gives us another account of the death of this great man. He tells us, that after the baniſhment of Themiſtocles, the inſolence of the people gave encouragement to a number of villainous informers, who attacking the greateſt and beſt men, rendered them obnoxious to the populace, now much elated with proſperity and power. Ariſtides himſelf was not ſpared, but on a charge brought againſt him by Diophantus of Amphitrope, was condemned for taking a bribe of the Ionians, at the time he levied the tax. He adds, that being unable to pay his fine, which was fifty *minæ*, he ſailed to ſome part of Ionia, and there died. But Craterus gives us no written proof of this aſſertion, nor does he allege any regiſter of court or decree of the people, though on other occaſions he is full of ſuch proofs, and conſtantly cites his author. The other hiſtorians, without exception, who have given us an account of the unjuſt behavior of the people of Athens to their generals, among many other inſtances dwell upon the baniſhment of Themiſtocles, the impriſonment of Miltiades, the fine impoſed upon Pericles, and the death of Paches, who, upon receiving ſentence, killed himſelf in the judgment hall, at the foot of the tribunal. Nor do they forget the baniſhment of Ariſtides, but they ſay not one word of this condemnation.

Beſides, his monument is ſtill to be ſeen at Phalerum, and is ſaid to have been erected at the public charge, becauſe he did not leave enough to defray the expenſes of his funeral. They inform us too, that the city provided for the marriage of his daughters, and that each of them had three thouſand *drachmæ* to her portion out of the

treaſury; and to his ſon Lyſimachus the people of Athens gave an hundred *minæ* of ſilver, and a plantation of as many acres of land, with a penſion of four drachmæ a day;* the whole being confirmed to him by a decree drawn up by Alcibiades. Calliſthenes adds, that Lyſimachus, at his death, leaving a daughter named Polycrite, the people ordered her the ſame ſubſiſtence with thoſe that had conquered at the Olympic games. Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus of Rhodes, Ariſtoxenus the muſician, and Ariſtotle himſelf, if the treatiſe concerning nobility is to be reckoned among his genuine works, relate, that Myrto, a grand daughter of Ariſtides, was married to Socrates the philoſopher, who had another wife at the ſame time, but took her, becauſe ſhe was in extreme want, and remained a widow on account of her poverty. But this is ſufficiently confuted by Panætius, in his life of that philoſopher.

The ſame Demetrius, in his account of Socrates, tells us, he remembered one Lyſimachus, grandſon to Ariſtides, who plied conſtantly near the temple of Bacchus, having certain tables by which he interpreted dreams for a livelihood; and that he himſelf procured a decree, by which his mother and aunt had three *oboli* a day each, allowed for their ſubſiſtence. He farther acquaints us, that when afterwards he undertook to reform the Athenian laws, he ordered each of thoſe women a drachma a day. Nor is it to be wondered, that this people took ſo much care of thoſe that lived with them in Athens, when having heard that a grand daughter of Ariſtogiton lived in mean circumſtances in Lemnos, and continued unmarried by reaſon of her poverty, they ſent for her to Athens, and married her to a man of a conſiderable family, giving her for a portion an eſtate in the borough of Potamos. That city, even in our days, continues to give ſo many proofs of her benevolence and humanity, that ſhe is deſervedly admired and applauded by all the world.

* Though this may ſeem no extraordinary matter to us, being only about half a crown of our money, yet in thoſe days it was. For an ambaſſador was allowed only two drachmæ a day, as appears from the *Acharnenſes* of Ariſtophanes. The poet, indeed, ſpeaks of one ſent to the king of Perſia, at whoſe court an ambaſſador was pretty ſure to be enriched.

CATO THE CENSOR.

IT is ſaid that Marcus Cato was born at Tuſculum, of which place his family originally was, and that before he was concerned in civil or military affairs, he lived upon an eſtate which his father left him near the country of the Sabines. Though his anceſtors were reckoned to have been perſons of no note, yet Cato himſelf boaſts of his father as a brave man and an excellent ſoldier, and aſſures us, that his grandfather Cato received ſeveral military rewards, and that having had five horſes killed under him, he had the value of them paid him out of the treaſury, as an acknowledgment of his gallant behavior. As the Romans always gave the appellation of *new men*,* to thoſe who, having no honors tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors, began to diſtinguiſh themſelves, they mentioned Cato by the ſame ſtyle; but he uſed to ſay, he was indeed *new* with reſpect to offices and dignities, but with regard to the ſervices and virtues of his anceſtors, he was very ancient.

His third name, at firſt, was not Cato, but Priſcus. It was afterwards changed to that of Cato, on account of his great wiſdom; for the Romans call wiſe men *Catos*.† He had red hair and grey eyes, as this epigram illnaturedly enough declares:

With eyes ſo grey and hair ſo red,
With tuſks ‡ ſo ſharp and keen,
Thou'lt fright the ſhades when thou art dead,
And hell won't let thee in.

* The *jus imaginum* was annexed to the great offices of ſtate, and none had their ſtatues or pictures but ſuch as had borne thoſe offices. Therefore he who had the pictures of his anceſtors, was called *noble*; he who had only his own, was called a *new man*; and he who had neither the one nor the other, was called *ignoble*. So ſays Aſconius. But it does not appear, that a man who had borne a great office, the conſulate for inſtance, was *ignoble*, becauſe he had not his ſtatue or picture; for he might not chooſe it. Cato himſelf did not chooſe it; his reaſon we ſuppoſe was becauſe he had none of his anceſtors; though he was pleaſed to aſſign another.

† The Latin word *catus* ſignifies *prudent*.

‡ The epigrammatiſt when he ſays that he was ταυδακετης, *one that bit every thing that came in his way*, plays upon his name of *Porcius*, quaſi *Porcus*, *Hog*.

Inured to labor and temperance, and brought up, as it were, in camps, he had an excellent conſtitution with reſpect to ſtrength as well as health. And he conſidered eloquence as a valuable contingent, an inſtrument of great things, not only uſeful but neceſſary for every man who does not chooſe to live obſcure and inactive; for which reaſon he exerciſed and improved that talent in the neighboring boroughs and villages, by undertaking the cauſes of ſuch as applied to him; ſo that he was ſoon allowed to be an able pleader, and afterwards a good orator.

From this time all that converſed with him, diſcovered in him ſuch a gravity of behavior, ſuch a dignity and depth of ſentiment, as qualified him for the greateſt affairs in the moſt reſpectable government in the world. For he was not only ſo diſintereſted as to plead without fee or reward, but it appeared that the honor to be gained in that department was not his principal view. His ambition was military glory; and when yet but a youth, he had fought in ſo many battles that his breaſt was full of ſcars. He himſelf tells us, he made his firſt campaign at ſeventeen years of age, when Hannibal, in the height of his proſperity, was laying Italy waſte with fire and ſword. In battle he ſtood firm, had a ſure and executing hand, a fierce countenance, and ſpoke to his enemy in a threatening and dreadful accent; for he rightly judged, and endeavored to convince others, that ſuch a kind of behavior often ſtrikes an adverſary with greater terror than the ſword itſelf. He always marched on foot, and carried his own arms, followed only by one ſervant who carried his proviſions. And it is ſaid, he never was angry or found fault with that ſervant, whatever he ſet before him; but when he was at leiſure from military duty, he would eaſe and aſſiſt him in dreſſing it. All the time he was in the army, he drank nothing but water, except that when almoſt burnt up with thirſt, he would aſk for a little vinegar, or when he found his ſtrength and ſpirits exhauſted, he would take a little wine.

Near his country ſeat was a cottage which formerly belonged to Manius Curius,* who was thrice honored

* Manius Curius Dentatus triumphed twice in his firſt conſulate, in the four hundred and ſixtythird year of Rome, firſt over the Samnites, and afterwards over the Sabines. And eight years after that, in his third conſulate, he triumphed over Pyrrhus. After this, he led up the leſs triumph, called *Ovation*, for his victory over the Lucanians.

with a triumph. Cato often walked thither, and reflecting on the ſmallneſs of the farm and the meanneſs of the dwelling, uſed to think of the peculiar virtues of Dentatus, who, though he was the greateſt man in Rome, had ſubdued the moſt warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, cultivated this little ſpot of ground with his own hands, and after three triumphs lived in this cottage. Here the ambaſſadors of the Samnites found him in the chimney corner dreſſing turnips, and offered him a large preſent of gold; but he abſolutely refuſed it, and gave them this anſwer, *A man who can be ſatisfied with ſuch a ſupper, has no need of gold; and I think it more glorious to conquer the owners of it, than to have it myſelf.*— Full of theſe thoughts, Cato returned home, and taking a view of his own eſtate, his ſervants, and manner of living, added to his own labor, and retrenched his unneceſſary expenſes.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum, Cato, who was then very young,* ſerved under him. Happening at that time to lodge with a Pythagorean philoſopher named Nearchus, he deſired to hear ſome of his doctrine; and learning from him the ſame maxims which Plato advances, *That pleaſure is the greateſt incentive to evil; that the greateſt burden and calamity to the ſoul is the body, from which ſhe cannot diſengage herſelf, but by ſuch a wiſe uſe of reaſon as ſhall wean and ſeparate her from all corporeal paſſions*; he became ſtill more attached to frugality and temperance. Yet it is ſaid that he learned Greek very late, and was conſiderably advanced in years when he began to read the Grecian writers, among whom he improved his eloquence, ſomewhat by Thucydides, but by Demoſthenes very greatly. Indeed his own writings are ſufficiently adorned with precepts and examples borrowed from the Greek, and among his maxims and ſentences we find many that are literally tranſlated from the ſame originals.

At that time there flouriſhed a Roman nobleman of great power and eminence, called Valerius Flaccus, whoſe penetration enabled him to diſtinguiſh a riſing genius and virtuous diſpoſition, and whoſe benevolence inclined him

* Fabius Maximus took Tarentum in his fifth conſulate, in the year of Rome 544. Cato was then twentythree years old; but he had made his firſt campaign under the ſame Fabius five years before.

to encourage and conduct it in the path of glory. This nobleman had an eſtate contiguous to Cato's where he often heard his ſervants ſpeak of his neighbor's laborious and temperate manner of life. They told him that he uſed to go early in the morning to the little towns in the neighborhood, and defend the cauſes of ſuch as applied to him; that from thence he would return to his own farm, where, in a coarſe frock, if it was winter, and naked, if it was ſummer, he would labor with his domeſtics, and afterwards ſit down with them, and eat the ſame kind of bread, and drink of the ſame wine. They related alſo many other inſtances of his condeſcenſion and moderation, and mentioned ſeveral of his ſhort ſayings that were full of wit and good ſenſe. Valerius charmed, with his character, ſent him an invitation to dinner. From that time, by frequent converſation, he found in him ſo much ſweetneſs of temper and ready wit, that he conſidered him as an excellent plant, which wanted only cultivation, and deſerved to be removed to a better ſoil. He therefore perſuaded him to go to Rome, and apply himſelf to affairs of ſtate.

There his pleadings ſoon procured him friends and admirers; the intereſt of Valerius, too, greatly aſſiſted his riſe to preferment; ſo that he was firſt made a tribune of the ſoldiers, and afterwards quæſtor. And having gained great reputation and honor in thoſe employments, he was joined with Valerius himſelf in the higheſt dignities, being his colleague both as conſul and as cenſor.

Among all the ancient ſenators, he attached himſelf chiefly to Fabius Maximus, not ſo much on account of the great power and honor he had acquired, as for the ſake of his life and manners, which Cato conſidered as the beſt model to form himſelf upon. So that he made no ſcruple of differing with the great Scipio, who, though at that time but a young man, yet actuated by a ſpirit of emulation, was the perſon who moſt oppoſed the power of Fabius. For being ſent quæſtor with Scipio to the war in Africa, and perceiving that he indulged himſelf, as uſual, in an unbounded expenſe, and laviſhed the public money upon the troops, he took the liberty to remonſtrate; obſerving, "That the expenſe itſelf was not the greateſt "evil, but the conſequence of that expenſe, ſince it cor- "rupted the ancient ſimplicity of the ſoldiery, who when "they had more money than was neceſſary for their

"ſubſiſtence, were ſure to beſtow it upon luxury and "riot." Scipio anſwered, "He had no need of a very "exact and frugal treaſurer, becauſe he intended to "ſpread all his ſails in the ocean of war,* and becauſe his "country expected from him an account of ſervices per- "formed, not of money expended." Upon this, Cato left Sicily, and returned to Rome, where, together with Fabius, he loudly complained to the ſenate, "Of Scipio's "immenſe profuſion, and of his paſſing his time like a "boy, in wreſtling rings and theatres, as if he had not "been ſent out to make war, but to exhibit games and "ſhows." In conſequence of this, tribunes were ſent to examine into the affair, with orders, if the accuſation proved true, to bring Scipio back to Rome. Scipio repreſented to them, "That ſucceſs depended entirely upon "the greatneſs of the preparations," and made them ſenſible "That though he ſpent his hours of leiſure in a "cheerful manner with his friends, his liberal way of liv- "ing had not cauſed him to neglect any great or impor- "tant buſineſs." With this defence the commiſſioners were ſatisfied, and he ſet ſail for Africa.

As for Cato, he continued to gain ſo much influence and authority by his eloquence, that he was commonly called the Roman Demoſthenes; but he is ſtill more celebrated for his manner of living. His excellence as a ſpeaker, awaked a general emulation among the youth to diſtinguiſh themſelves the ſame way, and to ſurpaſs each other; but few were willing to imitate him in the ancient cuſtom of tilling the field with their own hands, in eating a dinner prepared without fire, and a ſpare frugal ſupper; few, like him, could be ſatisfied with a plain dreſs and a poor cottage, or think it more honorable not to want the ſuperfluities of life, than to poſſeſs them. For the commonwealth, now no longer retained its primitive purity and integrity, by reaſon of the vaſt extent of its dominions; the many different affairs under its management, and the infinite number of people that were ſubject to its command, had introduced a great variety of cuſtoms and modes of living. Juſtly, therefore, was Cato entiled to admiration, when the other citizens were frightened at labor, and enervated by pleaſure, and he

* πλησιος επι τον πολεμον φερομενος——

alone was unconquered by either, not only while young and ambitious, but when old and grey haired, after his conſulſhip and triumph; like a brave wreſtler, who, after he has come off conqueror, obſerves the common rules, and continues his exerciſes to the laſt.

He himſelf tells us that he never wore a garment that coſt more than an hundred *drachmas*; that even when prætor or conſul, he drank the ſame wine with his ſlaves; that a dinner never coſt him from the market above thirty *aſes*; and that he was thus frugal for the ſake of his country, that he might be able to endure the harder ſervice in war. He adds, that having got among ſome goods he was heir to, a piece of Babylonian tapeſtry, he ſold it immediately; that the walls of his country houſes were neither plaſtered nor white waſhed; that he never gave more for a ſlave than fifteen hundred *drachmas*, as not requiring in his ſervants delicate ſhapes and fine faces, but ſtrength and ability to labor, that they might be fit to be employed in his ſtables, about his cattle, or ſuch like buſineſs; and theſe he thought proper to ſell again when they grew old,* that he might have no uſeleſs perſons to maintain. In a word, he thought nothing cheap that was ſuperfluous; that what a man has no need of, is dear even at a penny; and that it is much better to have fields where the plough goes or cattle feed, than fine gardens and walks that require much watering and ſweeping.

Some imputed theſe things to a narrowneſs of ſpirit, while others ſuppoſed that he betook himſelf to this contracted manner of living, in order to correct by his example the growing luxury of the age. For my part, I cannot but charge his uſing his ſervants like ſo many beaſts of burden, and turning them off, or ſelling them, when grown old, to the account of a mean and ungenerous ſpirit, which thinks that the ſole tie between man and man is intereſt or neceſſity. But goodneſs moves in a larger ſphere than juſtice; the obligations of law and

* Cato ſays in expreſs terms, "A maſter of a family ſhould ſell "his old oxen, and all the horned cattle that are of a delicate frame; "all his ſheep that are not hardy, their wool, their very pelts; he "ſhould ſell his old waggons, and his old inſtruments of huſbandry; he ſhould ſell ſuch of his ſlaves as were old or infirm, and "every thing elſe that is old or uſeleſs. A maſter of a family "ſhould love to ſell, not to buy." What a fine contraſt there is between the ſpirit of this old ſtoic, and that of the liberal minded, the benevolent Plutarch!

equity reach only to mankind, but kindneſs and beneficence ſhould be extended to creatures of every ſpecies; and theſe ſtill flow from the breaſt of a well natured man, as ſtreams that iſſue from the living fountain. A good man will take care of his horſes and dogs, not only while they are young, but when old and paſt ſervice. Thus the people of Athens, when they had finiſhed the temple called *Hecatompedon*, ſet at liberty the beaſts of burden that had been chiefly employed in that work, ſuffering them to paſture at large, free from any farther ſervice. It is ſaid, that one of theſe afterwards came of its own accord to work, and putting itſelf at the head of the laboring cattle marched before them to the citadel. This pleaſed the people, and they made a decree that it ſhould be kept at the public charge as long as it lived. The graves of Cimon's mares with which he thrice conquered at the Olympic games, are ſtill to be ſeen near his own tomb. Many have ſhown particular marks of regard in burying the dogs which they had cheriſhed and been fond of; and, among the reſt, Xanthippus, of old, whoſe dog ſwam by the ſide of his galley to Salamis, when the Athenians were forced to abandon their city, was afterwards buried by his maſter upon a promontory, which to this day is called the *dog's grave*. We certainly ought not to treat living creatures like ſhoes or houſehold goods, which, when worn out with uſe, we throw away; and were it only to learn benevolence to human kind, we ſhould be merciful to other creatures. For my own part, I would not ſell even an old ox that had labored for me; much leſs would I remove for the ſake of a little money, a man grown old in my ſervice, from his uſual place and diet; for to him, poor man! it would be as bad as baniſhment; ſince he could be of no more uſe to the buyer than he was to the ſeller. But Cato, as if he took a pride in theſe things, tells us, that, when conſul, he left his war horſe in Spain, to ſave the public the charge of his freight. Whether ſuch things as theſe are inſtances of greatneſs or littleneſs of ſoul, let the reader judge for himſelf.

He was, however, a man of wonderful temperance. For, when general of the army, he took no more from the public, for himſelf and thoſe about him, than three Attic *medimni* of wheat a month; and leſs than a *medimnus* and a half of barley for his horſes. And when he was govern-

or of Sardinia, though his predeceſſors had put the province to a very great expenſe for pavilions, bedding, and apparel, and ſtill more by the number of friends and ſervants they had about them, and by the great and ſumptuous entertainments they gave,* he, on the contrary, was as remarkable for his frugality. Indeed, he put the public to no manner of charge. Inſtead of making uſe of a carriage, he walked from one town to another, attended only by one officer, who carried his robe and a veſſel for libations. But if in theſe things he appeared plain and eaſy to thoſe that were under his command, he preſerved a gravity and ſeverity in every thing elſe. For he was inexorable in whatever related to public juſtice, and inflexibly rigid in the execution of his orders; ſo that the Roman government had never before appeared to that people either ſo awful or ſo amiable.†

This contraſt was found, not only in his manners, but in his ſtyle, which was elegant, facetious, and familiar, and at the ſame time grave, nervous, and ſententious. Thus Plato tells us, "The outſide of Socrates was that "of a ſatyr and buffoon, but his ſoul was all virtue, "and from within him came ſuch divine and pathetic "things, as pierced the heart, and drew tears from the "hearers." And as the ſame may juſtly by affirmed of Cato, I cannot comprehend their meaning, who compare his language to that of Lyſias. I leave this, however, to be decided by thoſe who are more capable than myſelf of judging of the ſeveral ſorts of ſtyle uſed among the Romans; and being perſuaded that a man's diſpoſition may be diſcovered much better by his ſpeech than by his looks, (though ſome are of a different opinion) I ſhall ſet down ſome of Cato's remarkable ſayings.

One day when the Romans clamored violently and unſeaſonably for a diſtribution of corn, to diſſuade them from it, he thus began his addreſs: *It is a difficult taſk, my fellow citizens, to ſpeak to the belly, becauſe it has no ears.* Another time, complaining of the luxury of the Romans, he ſaid, *It was a hard matter to ſave that city from ruin*

* και περι δειπνα και δαπαναις και παραστευαις Καρυωντων.

† His only amuſement was to hear the inſtructions of the poet Ennius, under whom he learned the Greek ſciences. He baniſhed uſurers from his province, and reduced the intereſt upon loans almoſt to nothing.

where a fiſh was ſold for more than an ox. On another occaſion, he ſaid, *The Roman people were like ſheep, for as thoſe can ſcarce be brought to ſtir ſingly, but all in a body readily follow their leaders, juſt ſuch are ye. The men whoſe counſel you would not take as individuals, lead you with eaſe in a crowd.* Speaking of the power of women, he ſaid, *All men naturally govern the women, we govern all men, and our wives govern us.* But this might be taken from the Apophthegms of Themiſtocles. For his ſon directing in moſt things through his mother, he ſaid, *The* Athenians *govern the* Greeks, *I govern the* Athenians, *you, wife, govern me, and your ſon governs you; let him then uſe that power with moderation, which, child as he is, ſets him above all the Greeks.* Another of Cato's ſayings was, *That the Roman people fixed the value, not only of the ſeveral kinds of colors but of the arts and ſciences; for,* added he, *as the dyers dye that ſort of purple which is moſt agreeable to you, ſo our youth only ſtudy and ſtrive to excel in ſuch things as you eſteem and commend.* Exhorting the people to virtue, he ſaid, *If it is by virtue and temperance that you are become great, change not for the worſe; but if by intemperance and vice, change for the better; for you are already great enough by ſuch means as theſe.* Of ſuch as were perpetually ſoliciting for great offices, he ſaid, *Like men who knew not their way, they wanted lictors always to conduct them.* He found fault with the people for often chooſing the ſame perſons conſuls; *You either,* ſaid he, *think the conſulate of little worth, or that there are but few worthy of the conſulate.* Concerning one of his enemies who led a very profligate and infamous life, he ſaid, *His mother takes it for a curſe and not a prayer, when any one wiſhes this ſon may ſurvive her.* Pointing to a man who had ſold a paternal eſtate near the ſea ſide, he pretended to admire him, as one that was ſtronger than the ſea itſelf, *For* ſaid he, *what the ſea could not have ſwallowed without difficulty, this man has taken down with all the eaſe imaginable.* When king Eumenes* came to Rome, the ſenate received him with extraordinary reſpect, and the great men ſtrove which ſhould do him the moſt honor, but Cato viſibly neglected and ſhunned him. Upon which ſomebody ſaid, *Why do you ſhun* Eumenes, *who is ſo good a man, and ſo great a friend to the* Romans? *That may be,* anſwered Cato, *but*

* Eumenes went to Rome, in the year of Rome 581. Cato was then thirtynine years old.

I look upon a king as a creature that feeds upon human flesh; and of all the kings that have been ſo much cried up, I find not one to be compared with an* Epaminondas, *a* Pericles, *a* Themiſtocles, *a* Manius Curius, *or with* Hamilcar, *ſurnamed* Barcas. He uſed to ſay that *his enemies hated him, becauſe he neglected his own concerns, and roſe before day, to mind thoſe of the public. But that he had rather his good actions ſhould go unrewarded, than his bad ones unpuniſhed; and that he pardoned every body's faults ſooner than his own.* The Romans having ſent three ambaſſadors to the king of Bithynia, of whom one had the gout another had his ſkull trepanned, and the third was reckoned little better than a fool, Cato ſmiled, and ſaid, *They had ſent an embaſſy which had neither feet, head nor heart.* When Scipio applied to him at the requeſt of Polybius, in behalf of the Achæan exiles,† and the matter was much canvaſſed in the ſenate, ſome ſpeaking for their being reſtored, and ſome againſt it, Cato roſe up, and ſaid, *As if we had nothing elſe to do, we ſit here all day debating, whether a few poor old Greeks ſhall be buried by our grave diggers, or thoſe of their own country.* The ſenate then decreed, that the exiles ſhould return home; and Polybius, ſome days after, endeavored to procure another meeting of that reſpectable body, to reſtore thoſe exiles to their former honors in Achaia. Upon this affair he founded Cato, who anſwered ſmiling, *This was juſt as if* Ulyſſes *ſhould have wanted to enter the* Cyclops' *cave again for a hat and a belt which he had left behind.* It was a ſaying of his, *That wiſe men learn more from fools, than fools from the wiſe; for the wiſe avoid the error of fools, while fools do not profit by the examples of the wiſe.* Another of his ſayings was, *That he liked a young man that bluſhed, more than one that turned pale; and that he did not like a ſoldier who moved his hands in marching, and his feet in fighting, and*

* This jeſt is taken from that expreſſion in the firſt book of Homer's Iliad δημοβορος βασιλευς, *king that devoureſt thy people.*

† The Achæans, in the firſt year of the hundred and fiftythird Olympiad, entered into meaſures for delivering up their country to the king of Perſia, but, being diſcovered, a thouſand of them were ſeized, and compelled to live exiles in Italy. There they continued ſeventeen years; after which, about three hundred, who were ſtill living, were reſtored by a decree of the ſenate, which was particularly made in favor of Polybius, who was one of the number.

who ſnored louder in bed than he ſhouted in battle. Jeſting upon a very fat man, he ſaid, *Of what ſervice to his country can ſuch a body be, which is nothing but belly?* When an epicure deſired to be admitted into his friendſhip, he ſaid, *He could not live with a man whoſe palate had quicker ſenſations than his heart.* He uſed to ſay, *The ſoul of a lover lived in the body of another;* And that *in all his life he never repented but of three things; the firſt was, that he had truſted a woman with a ſecret; the ſecond, that he had gone by ſea, when he might have gone by land; and the third, that he had paſſed one day without having a will by him.** To an old debauchee, he ſaid, *Old age has deformities enough of its own; do not add to it the deformity of vice.* A tribune of the people, who had the character of a poiſoner, propoſing a bad law, and taking great pains to have it paſſed, Cato ſaid to him, *Young man, I know not which is moſt dangerous, to drink what you mix, or to enact what you propoſe.* Being ſcurrilouſly treated by a man who led a diſſolute and infamous life, he ſaid, *It is upon very unequal terms that I contend with you; for you are accuſtomed to be ſpoken ill of, and can ſpeak it with pleaſure; but with me it is unuſual to hear it, and diſagreeable to ſpeak it.* Such was the manner of his repartees and ſhort ſayings.

Being appointed conſul along with his friend Valerius Flaccus, the government of that part of Spain which the Romans call *Citerior, Hither,* fell to his lot.† While he was ſubduing ſome of the nations there by arms, and winning others by kindneſs, a great army of barbarians fell upon him, and he was in danger of being driven out with diſhonor. On this occaſion he ſent to deſire ſuccors of his neighbors the Celtiberians, who demanded two hundred talents for that ſervice. All the officers of his army thought it intolerable, that the Romans ſhould be obliged to purchaſe aſſiſtance of the barbarians; but

* This has been miſunderſtood by all the tranſlators, who have agreed in rendering it, "that he had paſſed one day idly."

† As Cato's troops conſiſted, for the moſt part, of raw ſoldiers, he took great pains to diſcipline them, conſidering that they had to deal with the Spaniards, who, in their wars with the Romans and Carthaginians, had learned the military art, and were naturally brave and courageous. Before he came to action, he ſent away his fleet, that his ſoldiers might place all their hopes in their valor. With the ſame view, when he came near the enemy, he took a compaſs, and poſted his army behind them in the plain; ſo that the Spaniards were between him and his camp.

Cato ſaid, *It is no ſuch great hardſhip; for if we conquer we ſhall pay them at the enemy's expenſe; and if we are conquered, there will be nobody either to pay or make the demand.* He gained the battle, and every thing afterwards ſucceeded to his wiſh. Polybius tells us, that the walls of all the Spaniſh towns on this ſide the river Bætis were razed by his command in one day,* notwithſtanding the towns were numerous, and their inhabitants brave, Cato himſelf ſays, he took more cities than he ſpent days in Spain; nor is it a vain boaſt; for they were actually no fewer than four hundred. Though this campaign afforded the ſoldiers great booty, he gave each of them a pound weight of ſilver beſides, ſaying, *It was better that many of the* Romans *ſhould return with ſilver in their pockets, than a few with gold.* And for his own part, he aſſures us, that of all that was taken in the war, nothing came to his ſhare but what he eat and drank. *Not that I blame,* ſays he, *thoſe that ſeek their own advantage in theſe things; but I had rather contend for valor with the brave, than for wealth with the rich, or in rapaciouſneſs with the covetous.* And he not only kept himſelf clear of extortion, but all that were immediately under his direction. He had five ſervants with him in this expedition, one of whom, named Paccus, had purchaſed three boys that were among the priſoners; but when he knew that his maſter was informed of it, unable to bear the thoughts of coming into his preſence, he hanged himſelf. Upon which Cato ſold the boys, and put the money into the public treaſure.

While he was ſettling the affairs of Spain, Scipio the great, who was his enemy, and wanted to break the courſe of his ſucceſs, and have the finiſhing of the war himſelf, managed matters ſo as to get himſelf appointed his ſucceſſor. After which he made all poſſible haſte to take the command of the army from him. But Cato, hearing of his march, took five companies of foot, and five hundred horſe, as a convoy to attend upon Scipio, and as he went to meet him, defeated the Lacetanians,

* As the dread of his name procured him great reſpect in all the provinces beyond the Iberus, he wrote the ſame day private letters to the commanders of ſeveral fortified towns, ordering them to demoliſh without delay their fortifications; and aſſuring them that he would pardon none but ſuch as readily complied with his orders. Every one of the commanders believing the orders to be ſent only to himſelf, immediately beat down their walls and towers. *Liv.* l. xxxiv. c. 15.

and took among them ſix hundred Roman deſerters, whom he cauſed to be put to death. And upon Scipio's expreſſing his diſpleaſure at this, he anſwered ironically, Rome *would be great indeed, if men of birth would not yield the palm of virtue to the commonalty, and if plebeians, like himſelf, would contend for excellence with men of birth and quality.* Beſides, as the ſenate had decreed, that nothing ſhould be altered which Cato had ordered and eſtabliſhed, the poſt which Scipio had made ſo much intereſt for rather tarniſhed his own glory than that of Cato; for he continued inactive during that government.

In the mean time, Cato was honored with a triumph. But he did not act afterwards, like thoſe whoſe ambition is only for fame, and not for virtue, and who having reached the higheſt honors, borne the office of conſul, and led up triumphs, withdraw from public buſineſs, and give up the reſt of their days to eaſe and pleaſure. On the contrary, like thoſe who are juſt entered upon buſineſs, and thirſt for honor and renown, he exerted himſelf as if he was beginning his race anew, his ſervices being always ready both for his friends in particular, and for the citizens in general, either at the bar or in the field. For he went with the conſul Tiberius Sempronius to Thrace and the Danube,* as his lieutenant. And as a legionary tribune, he attended Manius Acilius Glabrio into Greece, in the war againſt Antiochus the great; who, next to Hannibal, was the moſt formidable enemy the Romans ever had. For having recovered almoſt all the provinces of Aſia which Seleucus Nicanor had poſſeſſed, and reduced many warlike nations of barbarians, he was ſo much elated as to think the Romans the only match for him in the field. Accordingly he croſſed the ſea with a powerful army, coloring his deſign with the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring liberty to the Greeks, of which, however, they ſtood in no need, for being lately delivered by the favor of the Romans from the yoke of Philip and the Macedonians, they were free already, and were governed by their own laws.

At his approach, all Greece was in great commotion, and unreſolved how to act; being corrupted with the ſplendid hopes infuſed by the orators whom Antiochus had

* The year after his conſulſhip, and the ſecond year of the hundred and fortyſixth Olympiad.

gained. Acilius, therefore, ſent ambaſſadors to the ſeveral ſtates; Titus Flaminius appeaſed the diſturbances, and kept moſt of the Greeks in the Roman intereſt, without uſing any violent means, as I have related in his life; and Cato confirmed the people of Corinth, as well as thoſe of Patræ and Ægium in their duty. He alſo made a conſiderable ſtay at Athens; and it is ſaid, there is ſtill extant a ſpeech of his, which he delivered to the Athenians in Greek, expreſſing his admiration of the virtue of their anceſtors, and his ſatisfaction in beholding the beauty and grandeur of their city. But this account is not true, for he ſpoke to them by an interpreter. Not that he was ignorant of Greek; but choſe to adhere to the cuſtoms of his country, and laugh at thoſe who admired nothing but what was Greek. He, therefore, ridiculed Poſthumius Albinus, who had written an hiſtory in that language, and made an apology for the improprieties of expreſſion, ſaying, *He ought to be pardoned, if he wrote it by command of the* Amphictyons. We are aſſured that the Athenians admired the ſtrength and conciſeneſs of his language; for what he delivered in few words, the interpreter was obliged to make uſe of many to explain; inſomuch that he left them in the opinion, that the expreſſions of the Greeks flowed only from the lips, while thoſe of the Romans came from the heart.*

Antiochus having blocked up the narrow paſs of Thermopylæ with his troops, and added walls and intrenchments to the natural fortifications of the place, ſat down there unconcerned, thinking the war could not touch him. And indeed the Romans deſpaired of forcing the paſs. But Cato recollecting the circuit the Perſians had taken on a like occaſion,† ſet out in the night with a proper detachment.

When they had advanced a conſiderable height, the guide, who was one of the priſoners, miſſed his way, and wandering about, among impracticable places and pre-

* There cannot be a ſtronger inſtance than this, that the brief expreſſion of the Spartans, was owing to the native ſimplicity of their manners, and the ſincerity of their hearts. It was the expreſſion of nature.—Artificial and circumlocutory expreſſions, like licentious paintings, are the conſequences of licentious life.

† In the Perſian war, Leonidas, with three hundred Spartans only, ſuſtained the ſhock of an innumerable multitude in the paſs of Thermopylæ, until the barbarians fetching a compaſs round the mountains by by-ways, came up upon him behind, and cut his party in pieces.

cipices, threw the ſoldiers into inexpreſſible dread and deſpair. Cato ſeeing the danger, ordered his forces to halt, while he, with one Lucius Manlius, who was dexterous in climbing the ſteep mountains,* went forward with great difficulty and at the hazard of his life, at midnight, without any moon; ſcrambling among wild olive-trees and ſteep rocks that ſtill more impeded his view, and added darkneſs to the obſcurity. At laſt they hit upon a path which ſeemed to lead down to the enemy's camp. There, they ſet up marks upon ſome of the moſt conſpicious rocks on the top of the mountain Callidromus; and returning the ſame way, took the whole party with them; whom they conducted by the direction of the marks, and ſo regained the little path; where they made a proper diſpoſition of the troops. They had marched but a little farther, when the path failed them, and they ſaw nothing before them but a precipice, which diſtreſſed them ſtill more; for they could not yet perceive that they were near the enemy.

The day now began to appear, when one of them thought he heard the ſound of human voices, and a little after they ſaw the Grecian camp and the advanced guard at the foot of the rock. Cato, therefore, made a halt, and ſent to acquaint the Firmians that he wanted to ſpeak with them in private.† Theſe were troops whoſe fidelity and courage he had experienced on the moſt dangerous occaſions. They haſtened into his preſence, when he thus addreſſed them: "I want to take one of the enemy alive, "to learn of him who they are that compoſe this advan-"ced guard, and how many in number; and to be in-"formed what is the diſpoſition and order of their whole "army, and what preparations they have made to receive "us; but the buſineſs requires the ſpeed and impetuoſity "of lions, who ruſh into a herd of timorous beaſts."

When Cato had done ſpeaking, the Firmians, without further preparation, poured down the mountain, ſurpriſed the advanced guard, diſperſed them, took one armed man, and brought him to Cato. The priſoner informed him, that the main body of the army was en-

* The mountains to the eaſt of the ſtraits of Thermopylæ are comprehended under the name of Oeta, and the higheſt of them is called Callidromus, at the foot of which is a road ſixty feet broad, Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 15.

† Firmium was a Roman colony in the Picene.

camped with the king in the narrow paſs, and that the detachment which guarded the heights conſiſted of ſix hundred ſelect Ætolians. Cato deſpiſing theſe troops, as well on acconnt of their ſmall number, as their negligence, drew his ſword, and ruſhed upon them with all the alarm of voices and trumpets. The Ætolians no ſooner ſaw him deſcend from the mountains, than they fled to the main body, and put the whole in the utmoſt confuſion.

At the ſame time Manius forced the intrenchments of Antiochus below, and poured into the paſs with his army, Antiochus himſelf being wounded in the mouth with a ſtone, and having ſome of his teeth ſtruck out, the anguiſh obliged him to turn his horſe and retire. After his retreat, no part of his army could ſtand the ſhock of the Romans; and though there appeared no hopes of eſcaping by flight, by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of the road, the deep marſhes on one ſide, and rocky precipices on the other, yet they crowded along through thoſe narrow paſſages, and puſhing each other down, periſhed miſerably, out of fear of being deſtroyed by the Romans.

Cato, who was never ſparing in his own praiſes, and thought boaſting a natural attendant on great actions, is very pompous in his account of this exploit. He ſays, "That thoſe who ſaw him charging the enemy, routing "and purſuing them, declared, that Cato owed leſs to "the people of Rome, than the people of Rome owed to "Cato; and that the conſul Manius himſelf coming hot "from the fight, took him in his arms as he too came "panting from the action, and embracing him a long "time, cried out in a tranſport of joy, that neither he "nor the whole Roman people could ſufficiently reward "Cato's merit."

Immediately after the battle, the conſul ſent him with an account of it to Rome, that he might be the firſt to carry the news of his own achievements. With a favorable wind he ſailed to Brunduſium; from thence he reached Tarentum in one day; and having travelled four days more, he arrived at Rome the fifth day after he landed, and was the firſt that brought the news of the victory. His arrival filled the city with ſacrifices and other teſtimonies of joy, and gave the people ſo high an opinion of themſelves, that they now believed there could be no bounds to their empire or their power.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable of Cato's actions; and with reſpect to civil affairs, he appears to have thought the impeaching of offenders and bringing them to juſtice a thing that well deſerved his attention. For he proſecuted ſeveral, and encouraged and aſſiſted others in carrying on their proſecutions. Thus he ſet up Petilius againſt Scipio the great; but ſecure in the dignity of his family, and his own greatneſs of mind, Scipio treated the accuſation with the utmoſt contempt. Cato perceiving he would not be capitally condemned, dropt the accuſation; but, with ſome others who aſſiſted him in the cauſe, impeached his brother Lucius Scipio, who was ſentenced to pay a fine which his circumſtances could not anſwer, ſo that he was in danger of impriſonment; and it was not without great difficulty, and appealing to the tribunes, that he was diſmiſſed.

We have alſo an account of a young man who had procured a verdict againſt an enemy of his father who was lately dead, and had him ſtigmatized. Cato met him as he was paſſing through the *forum*, and taking him by the hand, addreſſed him in theſe words: "It is thus "we are to ſacrifice to the *manes* of our parents, not with "the blood of goats and lambs, but with the tears and "condemnation of their enemies."

Cato, however, did not eſcape theſe attacks; but when in the buſineſs of the ſtate, he gave the leaſt handle, was certainly proſecuted, and ſometimes in danger of being condemned. For it is ſaid that near fifty impeachments were brought againſt him, and the laſt, when he was eighty-ſix years of age; on which occaſion he made uſe of that memorable expreſſion, *It is hard that I who have lived with men one of generation, ſhould be obliged to make my defence to thoſe of another.* Nor was this the end of his conteſts at the bar; for, four years after, at the age of ninety,* he impeached Servilius Galba: So that, like Neſtor he lived three generations, and, like

* Plutarch here is not conſiſtent with himſelf. Towards the beginning of this life he ſays that Cato was but ſeventeen years old at the time of Hannibal's ſucceſs in Italy; and at the concluſion he tells that Cato died juſt at the beginning of the third Punic war. But Hannibal came into Italy in the year of Rome 534; and the third Punic war broke out ſeventy years after, in the year of Rome 604. According to this computation, Cato could not be more than eighty-ſeven years old when he died; and this account is confirmed by Cicero,

him was always in action. In ſhort, after having conſtantly oppoſed Scipio in matters of government, he lived until the time of young Scipio, his adopted grandſon, and ſon of Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perſeus and the Macedonians.

Ten years after his conſulſhip, Cato ſtood for the office of cenſor, which was the higheſt dignity in the republic. For, beſide the other power and authority that attended this office, it gave the magiſtrate a right of inquiry into the lives and manners of the citizens. The Romans did not think it proper that any one ſhould be left to follow his own inclinations without inſpection or control, either in marriage, in the procreation of children, in his table, or in the company he kept. But, convinced that in theſe private ſcenes of life a man's real character was much more diſtinguiſhable than in his public and political tranſactions, they appointed two magiſtrates, the one out of the patricians, and the other out of the plebeians, to inſpect, to correct, and to chaſtiſe ſuch as they found giving into diſſipation and licentiouſneſs, and deſerting the ancient and eſtabliſhed manner of living. Theſe great officers they called Cenſors; and they had power to deprive a Roman knight of his horſe, or to expel a ſenator that led a vicious and diſorderly life. They likewiſe took an eſtimate of each citizen's eſtate, and enrolled them according to their pedigree, quality, and condition.

This office has ſeveral other great prerogatives annexed to it; and therefore when Cato ſolicited it, the principal ſenators oppoſed him. The motive to this oppoſition with ſome of the patricians was envy; for they imagined it would be a diſgrace to the nobility, if perſons of a mean and obſcure origin were elevated to the higheſt honor in the ſtate; with others it was fear; for, conſcious that their lives were vicious, and that they had departed from the ancient ſimplicity of manners, they dreaded the auſterity of Cato; becauſe they believed he would be ſtern and inexorable in his office. Having conſulted and prepared their meaſures, they put up ſeven candidates in oppoſition to Cato; and imagining that the people wanted to be governed with an eaſy hand, they ſoothed them with hopes of a mild cenſorſhip. Cato, on the contrary, without condeſcending to the leaſt flattery or complaiſance, in his ſpeeches from the roſtrum profeſſed his reſolution.

to punish every instance of vice; and loudly declaring that the city wanted great reformation, conjured the people, if they were wise, to choose, not the mildest, but the severest physician. He told them that *he* was one of that character, and, among the patricians, Valerius Flaccus was another; and that with him for his colleague, and him only, he could hope to render good service to the commonwealth, by effectually cutting off, like another *hydra*, the spreading luxury and effeminacy of the times. He added, that he saw others pressing into the censorship, in order to exercise that office in a bad manner, because they were afraid of such as would discharge it faithfully.

The Roman people, on this occasion, showed themselves truly great, and worthy of the best of leaders; for, far from dreading the severity of this inflexible man, they rejected those smoother candidates that seemed ready to consult their pleasure in every thing, and chose Valerius Flaccus with Cato; attending to the latter not as a man that solicited the office of censor, but as one who, already possessed of it, gave out his orders by virtue of his authority.

The first thing Cato did, was to name his friend and colleague Lucius Valerius Flaccus chief of the senate, and to expel many others the house; particularly Lucius Quintus, who had been consul seven years before, and, what was still a greater honor, was brother to Titus Flaminius,* who overthrew king Philip.

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He expelled also Manilius, another senator, whom the general opinion had marked out for Consul, because he had given his wife a kiss in the daytime in the sight of his daughter. "For his own part," he said, "his wife never "embraced him but when it thundered dreadfully," adding by way of joke, "That he was happy when Jupiter "pleased to thunder."

He was censured as having merely indulged his envy, when he degraded Lucius who was brother to Scipio the great, and had been honored with a triumph; for he took from him his horse; and it was believed he did it to insult the memory of Scipio Africanus. But there was

* Polybius, Livy, and Cicero make the surname of his family Flaminius.

another thing that rendered him more generally obnoxious, and that was the reformation he introduced in point of luxury. It was impoſſible for him to begin his attacks upon it openly, becauſe the whole body of the people was infected, and therefore he took an indirect method. He cauſed an eſtimate to be taken of all apparel, carriages, female ornaments, furniture and utenſils; and whatever exceeded fifteen hundred *drachmas* in value, he rated at ten times as much, and impoſed a tax according to that valuation. For every thouſand *aſes* he made them pay three; that finding themſelves burdened with the tax, while the modeſt and frugal, with equal ſubſtance, paid much leſs to the public, they might be induced to retrench their appearance. This procured him many enemies, not only among thoſe who, rather than part with their luxury, ſubmitted to the tax, but among thoſe who leſſened the expenſe of their figure, to avoid it. For the generality of mankind think that prohibition to ſhow their wealth is the ſame thing as taking it away, and that opulence is ſeen in the ſuperfluities, not in the neceſſaries of life. And this (we are told) was what ſurpriſed Ariſto the philoſopher; for he could not comprehend why thoſe that are poſſeſſed of ſuperfluities ſhould be accounted happy, rather than ſuch as abound in what is neceſſary and uſeful. But Scopas the Theſſalian, when one of his friends aſked him for ſomething that could be of little uſe to him, and gave him that as a reaſon why he ſhould grant his requeſt, made anſwer, "It is in theſe uſeleſs and ſuperfluous things "that I am rich and happy." Thus the deſire of wealth, far from being a natural paſſion, is a foreign and adventitious one, ariſing from vulgar opinion.

Cato paid no regard to theſe complaints, but became ſtill more ſevere and rigid. He cut off the pipes by which people conveyed water from the public fountains into their houſes and gardens, and demoliſhed all the buildings that projected out into the ſtreets. He lowered the price of public works, and farmed out the public revenues at the higheſt rent they could bear. By theſe things he brought upon himſelf the hatred of vaſt numbers of people; ſo that Titus Flaminius and his party attacked him, and prevailed with the ſenate to annul the contracts he had made for repairing the temples and public buildings, as detrimental to the ſtate. Nor did they

ſtop here, but incited the boldeſt of the tribunes to accuſe him to the people, and fine him two talents. They likewiſe oppoſed him very much in his building at the public charge a hall below the ſenate houſe by the *forum*, which he finiſhed notwithſtanding, and called the *Porcian* hall.

The people, however, appear to have been highly pleaſed with his behavior in this office. For when they erected his ſtatue in the temple of *Health*, they made no mention on the pedeſtal of his victories and his triumph, but the inſcription was to this effect: "In honor of "Cato the Cenſor, who, when the Roman commonwealth "was degenerating into licentiouſneſs, by good diſcipline "and wiſe inſtitutions reſtored it."

Before this, he laughed at thoſe who were fond of ſuch honors, and ſaid, "They were not aware that they plum-"ed themſelves upon the workmanſhip of founders, ſtat-"uaries, and painters, while the Romans bore about a "more glorious image of him in their hearts." And to thoſe that expreſſed their wonder, that, while many perſons of little note had their ſtatues, Cato had none, he ſaid, *He had much rather it ſhould be aſked, why he had not a ſtatue, than why he had one.* In ſhort, he was of opinion that a good citizen ſhould not even accept of his due praiſe, unleſs it tended to the advantage of the community. Yet of all men he was the moſt forward to commend himſelf; for he tells us, that thoſe who were guilty of miſdemeanors, and afterwards reproved for them, uſed to ſay, "They were excuſeable; they were not "Cato's:"* And that ſuch as imitated ſome of his actions,

* So we have rendered the paſſage with the Latin tranſlator. The text ſtands thus: ὁς γε και τους ἁμαρτανοντας τι περι τον βιον, υστ' ελεγχομενους, λεγειν φησιν ὡς ουκ αξιον εγκαλειν αυτοις' ου γαρ Κατωνες εισι. Now we think it much more natural to alter the two laſt words into Κατωναις εἰναι, if any alteration is neceſſary, than to break into the conſtruction and change the whole form of the ſentence thus: ὁς γε και περι ΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΑΝΟΝΤΩΝ τι περι τον βιον, εἰτ' ΕΛΕΓΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ, λεγειν ἑαυτον φησιν, κ. τ. λ. and yet it muſt be ſo changed to juſtify the Engliſh and the French tranſlations. The Engliſh runs thus: *Inſomuch, that when ſome citizens that had been guilty of miſdemeanors were reproved for it, he uſed to ſay*, "They are excuſable, for they are not Catos." And the French of Dacier thus: *Juſque là, que lorſque quelque citoyens avoient fait des fautes dans la conduite de leur vie, et qu'on les en reprenoit, il avoit accoûtumé de dire*: "Ils ſont excuſables, car ils ne ſont pas des Catons."

but did it awkwardly, were called *left handed* Catos. He adds, "That the ſenate, in difficult and dangerous times, "uſed to caſt their eyes upon him, as paſſengers in a ſhip "do upon the pilot in a ſtorm;" and "That when he "happened to be abſent, they frequently put off the con-"ſideration of matters of importance." Theſe particulars, indeed, are confirmed by other writers; for his life, his eloquence, and his age, gave him great authority in Rome.

He was a good father, a good huſband, and an excellent economiſt. And as he did not think the care of his family a mean and trifling thing, which required only a ſuperficial attention, it may be of uſe to give ſome account of his conduct in that reſpect.

He choſe his wife rather for her family than her fortune; perſuaded, that though both the rich and the high-born have their pride, yet women of good families are more aſhamed of any baſe and unworthy action, and more obedient to their huſbands in every thing that is good and honorable. He uſed to ſay, that they who beat their wives or children, laid their ſacrilegious hands on the moſt ſacred things in the world; and that he preferred the character of a good huſband to that of a great ſenator. And he admired nothing more in Socrates, than his living in an eaſy and quiet manner with an ill tempered wife and ſtupid children. When he had a ſon born, no buſineſs, however urgent, except it related to the public, could hinder him from being preſent while his wife waſhed and ſwaddled the infant. For ſhe ſuckled it herſelf; nay, ſhe often gave the breaſt to the ſons of her ſervants, to inſpire them with a brotherly regard for her own.

As ſoon as the dawn of underſtanding appeared, Cato took upon him the office of ſchoolmaſter to his ſon, though he had a ſlave named Chilo, who was a good grammarian, and taught ſeveral other children. But he tells us, he did not chooſe that his ſon ſhould be reprimanded by a ſlave, or pulled by the ears, if he happened to be ſlow in learning; or that he ſhould be indebted to ſo mean a perſon for his education. He was, therefore, himſelf his preceptor in grammar, in law, and in the neceſſary exerciſes. For he taught him not only how to throw a dart, to fight hand to hand, and to ride, but to box, to endure heat and cold, and to ſwim the

moſt rapid rivers. He farther acquaints us, that he wrote hiſtories for him with his own hand, in large characters, that without ſtirring out of his father's houſe, he might gain a knowledge of the great actions of the ancient Romans and of the cuſtoms of his country. He was as careful not to utter an indecent word before his ſon, as he would have been in the preſence of the veſtal virgins; nor did he ever bathe with him. A regard to decency in this reſpect was indeed at that time general among the Romans: For even ſons in law avoided bathing with their fathers in law, not chooſing to appear naked before them; but afterwards the Greeks taught them not to be ſo ſcrupulous in uncovering themſelves, and they in their turn taught the Greeks to bathe naked even before the women.

While Cato was taking ſuch excellent meaſures for forming his ſon to virtue, he found him naturally ductile both in genius and inclination; but as his body was too weak to undergo much hardſhip, his father was obliged to relax the ſeverity of his diſcipline, and to indulge him a little in point of diet. Yet, with this conſtitution, he was an excellent ſoldier, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf under Paulus Æmilius in the battle againſt Perſeus. On this occaſion, his ſword happening to be ſtruck from his hand, the moiſture of which prevented him from graſping it firmly, he turned to ſome of his companions with great concern, and begged their aſſiſtance in recovering it. He then ruſhed with them into the midſt of the enemy, and having, with extraordinary efforts, cleared the place where the ſword was loſt, he found it, with much difficulty, under heaps of arms, and dead bodies of friends, as well as enemies, piled upon each other. Paulus Æmilius admired this gallant action of the young man; and there is a letter ſtill extant, written by Cato to his ſon, in which he extremely commends his high ſenſe of honor expreſſed in the recovery of that ſword. The young man afterwards married Tertia, daughter to Paulus Æmilius, and ſiſter to young Scipio; the honor of which alliance was as much owing to his own as to his father's merit. Thus Cato's care in the education of his ſon anſwered the end propoſed.

He had many ſlaves which he purchaſed among the captives taken in war, always chooſing the youngeſt and ſuch as were capable of inſtruction, like whelps or

colts that may be trained at pleaſure. None of theſe ſlaves ever went into any other man's houſe, except they were ſent by Cato or his wife, and if any of them was aſked what his maſter was doing, he always anſwered, he did not know. For it was a rule with Cato, to have his ſlaves either employed in the houſe or aſleep, and he liked thoſe beſt that ſlept the moſt kindly, believing that they were better tempered than others that had not ſo much of that refreſhment, and fitter for any kind of buſineſs.—And as he knew that ſlaves will ſtick at nothing to gratify their paſſion for women, he allowed them to have the company of his female ſlaves, upon paying a certain price; but under a ſtrict prohibition of approaching any other women.

When he was a young ſoldier, and as yet in low circumſtances, he never found fault with any thing that was ſerved up to his table, but thought it a ſhame to quarrel with a ſervant on account of his palate. Yet afterwards, when he was poſſeſſed of an eaſy fortune, and made entertainments for his friends and the principal officers, as ſoon as dinner was over, he never failed to correct with leathern thongs ſuch of his ſlaves as had not given due attendance, or had ſuffered any thing to be ſpoiled. He contrived means to raiſe quarrels among his ſervants, and to keep them at variance, ever ſuſpecting and fearing ſome bad conſequence from their unanimity. And,

When any of them were guilty of a capital crime, he gave them a formal trial, and put them to death in the preſence of their fellow ſervants. As his thirſt after wealth increaſed, and he found that agriculture was rather amuſing than profitable, he turned his thoughts to ſurer dependencies, and employed his money in purchaſing ponds, hot baths, places proper for fullers, and eſtates in good condition, having paſture ground and wood lands. From theſe he had a great revenue, *ſuch a one*, he uſed to ſay, *as* Jupiter *himſelf could not diſappoint him of*.

He practiſed uſury upon ſhips in the moſt blameable manner. His method was to inſiſt that thoſe whom he furniſhed with money, ſhould take a great number into partnerſhip. When there were full fifty of them, and as many ſhips, he demanded one ſhare for himſelf, which he managed by Quintio his freedman, who ſailed and trafficked along with them. Thus, though his gain was great, he did not riſk his capital, but only a ſmall part of it.

He likewiſe lent money to ſuch of his ſlaves as choſe it; and they employed it in purchaſing boys, who were afterwards inſtructed and fitted for ſervice at Cato's expenſe; and being ſold at the year's end by auction, Cato took ſeveral of them himſelf, at the price of the higheſt bidder, deducting it out of what he had lent. To incline his ſon to the ſame economy, he told him, *That to diminiſh his ſubſtance was not the part of a man, but of a widow woman.* Yet he carried the thing to extravagance, when he hazarded this aſſertion, *That the man truly wonderful and godlike, and fit to be regiſtered in the liſts of glory, was he by whoſe accounts it ſhould at laſt appear that he had more than doubled what he had received from his anceſtors.*

When Cato was very far advanced in years, there arrived at Rome two ambaſſadors from Athens,* Carneades the *Academic*, and Diogenes the *Stoic*. They were ſent to beg off a fine of five hundred talents which had been impoſed on the Athenians for contumacy, by the Sicyonians, at the ſuit of the people of Oropus.† Upon the arrival of theſe philoſophers ſuch of the Roman youth as had a taſte for learning, went to wait on them, and heard them with wonder and delight. Above all, they were charmed with the graceful manners of Carneades, the force of whoſe eloquence being great, and his reputation equal to his eloquence, had drawn an audience of the moſt conſiderable and the politeſt perſons in Rome, and the ſound of his fame, like a mighty wind, had filled the whole city. The report ran, that there was come from Greece a man of aſtoniſhing powers, whoſe eloquence, more than human, was able to ſoften and diſarm the fierceſt paſſions, and who had made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon the youth, that, forgetting all other pleaſures and diverſions, they were quite poſſeſſed with an enthuſiaſtic love of philoſophy.

The Romans were delighted to find it ſo; nor could they without uncommon pleaſure behold their ſons thus fondly receive the Grecian literature, and follow theſe wonderful men. But Cato, from the beginning, was

* Aulus Gellius mentions a third ambaſſador, Critolaus the *Peripatetic*.

† The Athenians had plundered the city of Oropus. Upon complaint made by the inhabitants, the affair was referred to the determination of the Sicyonians, and the Athenians not appearing to juſtify themſelves, were fined five hundred talents.

alarmed at it. He no ſooner perceived this paſſion for the Grecian learning prevail, but he was afraid that the youth would turn their ambition that way, and prefer the glory of eloquence to that of deeds of arms. But when he found that the reputation of theſe philoſophers roſe ſtill higher, and their firſt ſpeeches were tranſlated into Latin, by Caius Acilius, a ſenator of great diſtinction, who had earneſtly begged the favor of interpreting them, he had no longer patience, but reſolved to diſmiſs theſe philoſophers upon ſome decent and ſpecious pretence.

He went therefore to the ſenate, and complained of the magiſtrates for detaining ſo long ſuch ambaſſadors as thoſe, who could perſuade the people to whatever they pleaſed. "You ought," ſaid he, "to determine their "affair as ſpeedily as poſſible, that returning to their "ſchools, they may hold forth to the Grecian youth, and "that our young men may again give attention to the "laws and the magiſtrates." Not that Cato was induced to this by any particular pique to Carneades, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been the caſe, but by his averſion to philoſophy, and his making it a point to ſhow his contempt of the polite ſtudies and learning of the Greeks. Nay, he ſcrupled not to affirm, "That Socrates himſelf was a "prating ſeditious fellow, who uſed his utmoſt endeavors "to tyrannize over his country, by aboliſhing its cuſtoms, "and drawing the people over to opinions contrary to the "laws." And, to ridicule the ſlow methods of Iſocrates's teaching, he ſaid, "His ſcholars grew old in learning "their art, as if they intended to exerciſe it in the ſhades "below, and to plead cauſes there." And to diſſuade his ſon from thoſe ſtudies, he told him in a louder tone than could be expected from a man of his age, and, as it were, in an oracular and prophetic way, *That when the* Romans *came thoroughly to imbibe the* Grecian *literature, they would loſe the empire of the world.* But time has ſhown the vanity of that invidious aſſertion; for Rome was never at a higher pitch of greatneſs, than when ſhe was moſt perfect in the Grecian erudition, and moſt attentive to all manner of learning.*

* Rome had indeed a very extenſive empire in the Auguſtan age, but, at the ſame time, ſhe loſt her ancient conſtitution and her liberty. Not that the learning of the Romans contributed to that loſs, but their irreligion, their luxury, and corruption, occaſioned it.

Nor was Cato an enemy to the Grecian philoſophers only, but looked upon the phyſicians alſo with a ſuſpicious eye. He had heard, it ſeems, of the anſwer which Hippocrates gave the king of Perſia, when he ſent for him, and offered him a reward of many talents, "I will "never make uſe of my art in favor of barbarians who "are enèmies to the Greeks." This he ſaid was an oath which all the phyſicians had taken, and therefore, he adviſed his ſon to beware of them all. He added, that he himſelf had written a little treatiſe, in which he had ſet down his method of cure,* and the regimen he preſcribed; when any of his family were ſick; that he never recommended faſting, but allowed them herbs, with duck, pigeon, or hare; ſuch kind of diet being light and ſuitable for ſick people, having no other inconvenience but its making them dream; and that with theſe remedies, and this regimen, he preſerved himſelf and his family. But his ſelf ſufficiency in this reſpect went not unpuniſhed; for he loſt both his wife and ſon. He himſelf, indeed, by his ſtrong make and good habit of body, laſted long; ſo that even in old age he frequently indulged his inclination for the ſex, and at an unſeaſonable time of life married a young woman. It was on the following pretence.

After the death of his wife, he married his ſon to the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, the ſiſter of Scipio; and continued a widower, but had a young female ſlave that came privately to his bed. It could not, however, be long a ſecret in a ſmall houſe, with a daughter in law in it; and one day as the favorite ſlave paſſed by with a haughty and flaunting air, to go to the cenſor's chamber,† young Cato gave her a ſevere look, and turned his back upon her, but ſaid not a word. The old man was ſoon informed of this circumſtance, and finding that this kind of commerce diſpleaſed his ſon and his daughter in

* Cato was a worſe quack than Dr. Hill. His medical receipts, which may be found in his treatiſe of country affairs, are either very ſimple or very dangerous; and faſting, which he exploded, is better than them all. Duck, pigeon, and hare, which, if we may believe Plutarch, he gave his ſick people as a light diet, are certainly the ſtrongeſt and moſt indigeſtible kinds of food, and their making them dream was a proof of it.

† Ille Pater rectorque deûm, cui dextra triſulcis
Ignibis armata eſt, qui nutu concutit orbem,
Induitur faciem tauri——— *Ovid. Met.* lib. ii.

law, he did not expoſtulate with them, nor take the leaſt notice. Next morning he went to the *forum*, according to cuſtom, with his friends about him; and as he went along, he called aloud to one Salonius, who had been his ſecretary, and now was one of his train, and aſked him, "Whether he had provided a huſband for his daughter?" Upon his anſwering, "That he had not, nor ſhould "without conſulting his beſt friend;" Cato ſaid, "Why "then, I have found out a very fit huſband for her, if ſhe "can bear with the diſparity of age; for in other reſ- "pects he is unexceptionable, but he is very old." Salonius replying, "That he left the diſpoſal of her en- "tirely to him, for ſhe was under his protection, and "had no dependence but upon his bounty;" Cato ſaid without farther ceremony, "Then I will be your ſon in "law." The man at firſt was aſtoniſhed at the propoſal, as may eaſily be imagined; believing Cato paſt the time of life for marrying, and knowing himſelf far beneath an alliance with a family that had been honored with the conſulate and a triumph. But when he ſaw that Cato was in earneſt, he embraced the offer with joy, and the marriage contract was ſigned as ſoon as they came to the *forum*.

While they were buſied in preparing for the nuptials, young Cato, taking his relations with him, went and aſked his father, "What offence he had committed, that he "was going to put a mother in law upon him?" Cato immediately anſwered: "Aſk not ſuch a queſtion, my "ſon; for, inſtead of being offended, I have reaſon to "praiſe your whole conduct: I am only deſirous of hav- "ing more ſuch ſons, and leaving more ſuch citizens to "my country." But this anſwer is ſaid to have been given long before, by Piſiſtratus the Athenian tyrant, who, when he had ſons by a former wife already grown up, married a ſecond, Timonaſſa of Argos, by whom he is ſaid to have had two ſons more, Jophon and Theſſalus.

By this wife Cato had a ſon, whom he called Salonius, after his mother's father. As for his eldeſt ſon Cato, he died in his prætorſhip. His father often makes mention of him in his writings as a brave and worthy man. He bore this loſs with the moderation of a philoſopher, applying himſelf with his uſual activity to affairs of ſtate. For he did not, like Lucius Lucullus afterwards, and Metellus Pius, think age an exemption from the ſervice

of the public, but conſidered that ſervice as his indiſpenſable duty; nor yet did he act as Scipio Africanus had done, who finding himſelf attacked and oppoſed by envy in his courſe of glory, quitted the adminiſtration, and ſpent the remainder of his days in retirement and inaction. But, as one told Dionyſius, that the moſt honorable death was to die in poſſeſſion of ſovereign power, ſo Cato eſteemed that the moſt honorable old age, which was ſpent in ſerving the commonwealth. The amuſements in which he paſſed his leiſure hours, were the writing of books, and tilling the ground; and this is the reaſon of our having ſo many treatiſes on various ſubjects, and hiſtories of his compoſing.*

In his younger days he applied himſelf to agriculture, with a view to profit; for he uſed to ſay, he had only two ways of increaſing his income, *labor* and *parſimony*; but as he grew old, he regarded it only by way of theory and amuſement. He wrote a book concerning country affairs,† in which, among other things, he gives rules for making cakes, and preſerving fruit; for he was deſirous to be thought curious and particular in every thing. He kept a better table in the country than in the town; for he always invited ſome of his acquaintance in the neighborhood to ſup with him. With theſe he paſſed the time in cheerful converſation, making himſelf agreeable not only to thoſe of his own age, but to the young; for he had a thorough knowledge of the world, and had either ſeen himſelf, or heard from others, a variety of things that were curious and entertaining. He looked upon the table as one of the beſt means of forming friendſhips; and at his, the converſation generally turned upon the praiſes of great and excellent men among the Romans; as for the bad and the unworthy, no mention was made of them, for he would not allow in his company one word, either good or bad, to be ſaid of ſuch kind of men.

The laſt ſervice he is ſaid to have done the public, was the deſtruction of Carthage. The younger Scipio indeed gave the finiſhing ſtroke to that work, but it was under-

* Beſide an hundred and fifty orations, and more, that he left behind him, he wrote a treatiſe of *military diſcipline*, and books of *antiquities*; in two of theſe he treats of the foundation of the cities of Italy; the other five contained the Roman hiſtory, particularly a narrative of the firſt and ſecond Punic war.

† This is the only work of his that remains entire; of the reſt, we have only fragments.

taken chiefly by the advice and at the inſtances of Cato. The occaſion of the war was this: The Carthaginians, and Maſſiniſſa king of Numidia, being at war with each other, Cato was ſent into Africa to inquire into the cauſes of the quarrel. Maſſiniſſa from the firſt had been a friend to the Romans, and the Carthaginians were admitted into their alliance after the great overthrow they received from Scipio the elder, but upon terms which deprived them of great part of their dominions, and impoſed a heavy tribute.* When Cato arrived at Carthage, he found that city not in the exhauſted and humble condition which the Romans imagined, but full of men fit to bear arms, abounding in money, in arms, and warlike ſtores, and not a little elated in the thought of its being ſo well provided. He concluded, therefore, that it was now time for the Romans to endeavor to ſettle the points in diſpute between the Numidians and Carthage; and that, if they did not ſoon make themſelves maſters of that city, which was their old enemy, and retained ſtrong reſentments of the uſage ſhe had lately received, and which had not only recovered herſelf after her loſſes, but was prodigiouſly increaſed in wealth and power, they would ſoon be expoſed to all their former dangers. For this reaſon he returned in all haſte to Rome, where he informed the ſenate, "That the defeats and other misfortunes which had happened to the "Carthaginians, had not ſo much drained them of their "forces, as cured them of their folly; and that, in all "probability, inſtead of a weaker, they had made them a "more ſkilful and warlike enemy; that their war with the "Numidians was only a prelude to future combats with "the Romans; and that the late peace was a mere name, "for they conſidered it only as a ſuſpenſion of arms, "which they were willing to avail themſelves of, till they "had a favorable opportunity to renew the war."

It is ſaid, that at the concluſion of his ſpeech he ſhook the lap of his gown, and purpoſely dropped ſome Libyan figs; and when he found the ſenators admired them for their ſize and beauty, he told them, "That the country

* Scipio Africanus obliged the Carthaginians, at the concluſion of the ſecond Punic War, to deliver up their fleet to the Romans, yield to Maſſiniſſa part of Syphax's dominions, and pay the Romans ten thouſand talents. This peace was made in the third year of the hundred and fortyfourth Olympiad, two hundred years before the Chriſtian era.

"where they grew was but three days ſail from Rome." But what is a ſtronger inſtance of his enmity to Carthage, he never gave his opinion in the ſenate upon any other point whatever, without adding theſe words: "And my "opinion is, that Carthage ſhould be deſtroyed." Scipio, ſurnamed Naſica, made it a point to maintain the contrary, and concluded all his ſpeeches thus: "And my opinion "is, that Carthage ſhould be left ſtanding." It is very likely that this great man, perceiving that the people were come to ſuch a pitch of inſolence, as to be led by it into the greateſt exceſſes (ſo that in the pride of proſperity they could not be reſtrained by the ſenate, but by their overgrown power were able to draw the government what way they pleaſed) thought it beſt that Carthage ſhould remain to keep them in awe, and to moderate their preſumption. For he ſaw that the Carthaginians were not ſtrong enough to conquer the Romans, and yet too reſpectable an enemy to be deſpiſed by them. On the other hand, Cato thought it dangerous, while the people were thus inebriated and giddy with power, to ſuffer a city which had always been great, and which was now grown ſober and wiſe through its misfortunes, to lie watching every advantage againſt them. It appeared to him, therefore, the wiſeſt courſe, to have all outward dangers removed from the commonwealth, that it might be at leiſure to guard againſt internal corruption.*

Thus Cato, they tell us, occaſioned the third and laſt war againſt the Carthaginians. But as ſoon as it began he died, having firſt propheſied of the perſon that ſhould put an end to it; who was then a young man, and had

* So we have rendered the laſt member of the ſentence, with the Latin, *ut ita opportunius inteſtinis malis medendis vacarent.* In the original it is, ἀναφορας αυτους προς τας οικοθεν ἁμαρτιας απολιποντας; and one of the ſenſes of ἀναφορα is an alleviation, a reſource; ſo Euripides in *Oreſt.* εστιν ἡμιν ἀναφορα της συμφορας. Yet the former Engliſh tranſlator and the French have rendered it very differently: How juſtly let the learned reader judge!

The Engliſh runs thus: *At a time when, through their depravity and corruption, they had ſo many dangers hanging over their heads at home.*

The French thus: *Lorſqu'on lui laiſſoit au dedans tous les moyens de ſe porter à tous les excès et de commettre les fautes les plus terribles.*

What led Dacier wrong, was, we ſuppoſe, his finding it απολιποντας, in the text, in the paſt time; but it is very clear to us, it ſhould be read απολιποντας, in the preſent.

only a tribune's command in the army, but was giving extraordinary proofs of his conduct and valor. The news of theſe exploits being brought to Rome, Cato cried out,

———He is the ſoul of council;
The reſt are ſhadows vain.

This Scipio ſoon confirmed by his actions.

Cato left one ſon by his ſecond wife, who, as we have already obſerved, was ſurnamed Salonius, and a grandſon by the ſon of his firſt wife who died before him. Salonius died in his prætorſhip, leaving a ſon named Marcus, who came to be conſul, and was grandfather* to Cato the philoſopher, the beſt and moſt illuſtrious man of his time.

ARISTIDES AND CATO,

COMPARED.

HAVING thus given a detail of the moſt memorable actions of theſe great men, if we compare the whole life of the one, with that of the other, it will not be eaſy to diſcern the differnce between them, the eye being attracted by ſo many ſtriking reſemblances. But if we examine the ſeveral parts of their lives diſtinctly, as we do a poem or a picture, we ſhall find in the firſt place, this common to them both, that they roſe to high ſtations and great honor in their reſpective commonwealths, not by the help of family connections, but merely by their own virtues and abilities. It is true, that when Ariſtides raiſed himſelf, Athens was not in her grandeur, and the demagogues and chief magiſtrates he had to deal with, were men of moderate and nearly equal fortunes. For eſtates of the higheſt claſs were then only five hundred *medimni*; of thoſe of the ſecond order, who were knights, three hundred; and of thoſe of the third order, who were called *Zeugitæ*, two hundred. But Cato, from a little village and a country life, launched into the Roman government, as into a boundleſs ocean, at a time when it

* This is a miſtake in Plutarch; for Salonius was the grandfather, and Marcus the father of Cato of Utica.

was not conducted by the Curii, the Fabricii, and Hoſtilii, nor received for its magiſtrates and orators, men of narrow circumſtances who worked with their own hands, from the plough and the ſpade, but was accuſtomed to regard greatneſs of family, opulence, diſtributions among the people, and ſervility in courting their favor; for the Romans, elated with their power and importance, loved to humble thoſe who ſtood for the great offices of ſtate. And it was not the ſame thing to be rivalled by a Themiſtocles, who was neither diſtinguiſhed by birth nor fortune (for he is ſaid not to have been worth more than three, or, at the moſt, five talents, when he firſt applied himſelf to public affairs) as to have to conteſt with a Scipio Africanus, a Servius Galba, or a Quintius Flaminius without any other aſſiſtance or ſupport, but a tongue accuſtomed to ſpeak with freedom in the cauſe of juſtice.

Beſides, Ariſtides was only one among ten, that commanded at Marathon and Platæa; whereas Cato was choſen one of the two conſuls, from a number of competitors, and one of the two cenſors, though oppoſed by ſeven candidates, who were ſome of the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious men in Rome.

It ſhould be obſerved too, that Ariſtides was never principal in any action; for Miltiades had the chief honor of the victory at Marathon; Themiſtocles of that at Salamis; and the palm of the important day at Platæa, as Herodotus tells us, was adjudged to Pauſanias. Nay, even the ſecond place was diſputed with Ariſtides, by Sophanes, Aminias, Callimachus, and Cynægirus, who greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves on that occaſion.

On the other hand, Cato not only ſtood firſt in courage and conduct, during his own conſulate, and in the war with Spain; but when he acted at Thermopylæ, only as a tribune, under the aſpices of another, he gained the glory of the victory; for he it was that unlocked the paſs for the Romans to ruſh upon Antiochus, and that brought the war upon the back of the king, who minded only what was before him. That victory, which was manifeſtly the work of Cato, drove Aſia out of Greece, and opened the paſſage for Scipio to that continent afterwards.

Both of them were equally victorious in war, but Ariſtides miſcarried in the adminiſtration, being baniſhed and oppreſſed by the faction of Themiſtocles; whilſt Cato, though he had for antagoniſts almoſt all the greateſt and moſt powerful men in Rome, who kept contending with him even in his old age, like a ſkilful wreſtler, always held his footing. Often impeached before the people, and often the manager of an impeachment, he generally ſucceeded in his proſecution of others, and was never condemned himſelf; ſecure in that bulwark of life, the defenſive and offenſive armor of eloquence; and to this, much more juſtly than to fortune, or his guardian *genius*, we may aſcribe his maintaining his dignity unblemiſhed to the laſt. For Antipater beſtowed the ſame encomium upon Ariſtotle the philoſopher, in what he wrote concerning him after his death, that, among his other qualities, he had the very extraordinary one, of perſuading people to whatever he pleaſed.

That the art of governing cities and commonwealths, is the chief excellence of man, admits not of a doubt; and it is generally agreed, that the art of governing a family, is no ſmall ingredient in that excellence. For a city, which is only a collection of families, cannot be proſperous in the whole, unleſs the families that compoſe it be flouriſhing and proſperous. And Lycurgus, when he baniſhed gold and ſilver out of Sparta, and gave the citizens, inſtead of it, money made of iron, that had been ſpoiled by the fire, did not deſign to excuſe them from attending to economy, but only to prevent luxury, which is a tumor and inflammation cauſed by riches; that every one might have the greater plenty of the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life. By this eſtabliſhment of his, it appears, that he ſaw farther than any other legiſlator; ſince he was ſenſible that every ſociety has more to apprehend from its needy members, than from the rich. For this reaſon, Cato was no leſs attentive to the management of his domeſtic concerns, than to that of public affairs; and he not only increaſed his own eſtate but became a guide to others in economy and agriculture, concerning which he collected many uſeful rules.

But Ariſtides by his indigence brought a diſgrace upon juſtice itſelf, as if it were the ruin and impoveriſhment of families, and a quality that is profitable to any one

rather than the owner. Heſiod, however, has ſaid a good deal to exhort us both to juſtice and economy, and inveighs againſt idleneſs as the ſource of injuſtice. The ſame is well repreſented by Homer*———

> The culture of the field, which fills the ſtores
> With happy harveſts; and domeſtic cares,
> Which rear the ſmiling progeny, no charms
> Could boaſt for me; 'twas mine, to ſail
> The gallant ſhip, to ſound the trump of war,
> To point the poliſh'd ſpear, and hurl the quivering lance.

By which the poet intimates, that thoſe who neglect their own affairs, generally ſupport themſelves by violence and injuſtice. For what the phyſicians ſay of oil, that uſed outwardly it is beneficial, but pernicious when taken inwardly, is not applicable to the juſt man; nor is it true, that he is uſeful to others, and unprofitable to himſelf and his family. The politics of Ariſtides ſeem, therefore, to have been defective in this reſpect, if it is true (as moſt writers aſſert) that he left not enough either for the portions of his daughters, or for the expenſes of his funeral.

Thus Cato's family produced prætors and conſuls to the fourth generation; for his grandſons and their children bore the higheſt offices; whereas, though Ariſtides was one of the greateſt men in Greece, yet the moſt diſtreſsful poverty prevailing among his deſcendants, ſome of them were forced to get their bread by ſhowing tricks of ſleight of hand, or telling fortunes, and others, to receive public alms, and not one of them entertained a ſentiment worthy of their illuſtrious anceſtor.

It is true, this point is liable to ſome diſpute; for poverty is not diſhonorable in itſelf, but only when it is the effect of idleneſs, intemperance, prodigality, and folly. And when, on the contrary, it is aſſociated with all the virtues, in the ſober, the induſtrious, the juſt, and valiant ſtateſman, it ſpeaks a great and elevated mind. For an attention to little things, renders it impoſſible to do any thing that is great; nor can he provide for the wants of others, whoſe own are numerous and craving. The great and neceſſary proviſion for a ſtateſman is, not riches, but a

* *Odyſſ.* l. iv.

contented mind, which requiring no ſuperfluities for itſelf, leaves a man at full liberty to ſerve the common-wealth. God is abſolutely exempt from wants; and the virtuous man, in proportion as he reduces his wants, approaches nearer to the Divine perfection. For as a body well built for health, needs nothing exquiſite, either in food or clothing, ſo a rational way of living, and a well governed family, demands a very moderate ſupport. Our poſſeſſions, indeed, ſhould be proportioned to the uſe we make of them; he that amaſſes a great deal, and uſes but little, is far from being ſatisfied and happy in his abundance; for if, while he is ſolicitous to increaſe it, he has no deſire of thoſe things which wealth can procure, he is fooliſh; if he does deſire them, and yet out of meanneſs of ſpirit will not allow himſelf in their enjoyment, he is miſerable.

I would fain aſk Cato himſelf this queſtion, "If riches "are to be enjoyed, why, when poſſeſſed of a great deal, "did he plume himſelf upon being ſatisfied with a little?" If it be a commendable thing, as indeed it is, to be contented with coarſe bread, and ſuch wine as our ſervants and laboring people drink, and not covet purple and elegantly plaſtered houſes, then Ariſtides, Epaminondas, Manius Curius, and Caius Fabricius were perfectly right, in neglecting to acquire what they did not think proper to uſe. For it was by no means neceſſary for a man who, like Cato, could make a delicious meal on turnips, and loved to boil them himſelf, while his wife baked the bread, to talk ſo much about a farthing, and to write by what means a man might ſooneſt grow rich. Indeed, ſimplicity and frugality are then only great things, when they free the mind from the deſire of ſuperfluities and the anxieties of care. Hence it was that Ariſtides, in the trial of Callias, ſaid, *It was fit for none to be aſhamed of poverty, but thoſe that were poor againſt their wills; and that they who, like him, were poor out of choice, might glory in it.* For it is ridiculous to ſuppoſe that the poverty of Ariſtides was to be imputed to ſloth, ſince he might, without being guilty of the leaſt baſeneſs, have raiſed himſelf to opulence, by the ſpoil of one barbarian, or the plunder of one tent. But enough of this.

As to military achievements, thoſe of Cato added but little to the Roman empire, which was already very

great; whereas the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, the moſt glorious and important actions of the Greeks, are numbered among thoſe of Ariſtides. And ſurely Antiochus is not worthy to be mentioned with Xerxes, nor the demoliſhing of the walls of the Spaniſh towns, with the deſtruction of ſo many thouſands of barbarians, both by ſea and land. On theſe great occaſions Ariſtides was inferior to none in real ſervice, but he left the glory and the laurels, as he did the wealth, to others who had more need of them, becauſe he was above them.

I do not blame Cato for perpetually boaſting and giving himſelf the preference to others, though in one of his pieces he ſays, *It is abſurd for a man either to commend or depreciate himſelf*; but I think the man who is often praiſing himſelf, not ſo complete in virtue as the modeſt man, who does not even want others to praiſe him. For modeſty is a very proper ingredient in the mild and engaging manner neceſſary for a ſtateſman; on the other hand, he who demands any extraordinary reſpect, is difficult to pleaſe, and liable to envy. Cato was very ſubject to this fault, and Ariſtides entirely free from it. For Ariſtides, by cooperating with his enemy Themiſtocles in his greateſt actions, and being, as it were, a guard to him, while he had the command, reſtored the affairs of Athens; whereas Cato, by counteracting Scipio, had well nigh blaſted and ruined that expedition of his againſt Carthage, which brought down Hannibal, who till then was invincible. And he continued to raiſe ſuſpicions againſt him, and to perſecute him with calumnies, till at laſt he drove him out of Rome, and got his brother ſtigmatized with the ſhameful crime of embezzling the public money.

As for temperance, which Cato always extolled as the greateſt of virtues, Ariſtides preſerved it in its utmoſt purity and perfection; while Cato, by marrying ſo much beneath himſelf, and at an unſeaſonable time of life, ſtood juſtly impeached in that reſpect. For it was by no means decent, at his great age, to bring home to his ſon and daughter in law, a young wife, the daughter of his ſecretary, a man who received wages of the public. Whether he did it merely to gratify his appetite, or to revenge the affront which his ſon put upon his favorite ſlave, both the cauſe and the thing

were diſhonorable. And the reaſon which he gave to his ſon was ironical and groundleſs. For if he was deſirous of having more children like him, he ſhould have looked out before for ſome woman of family, and not have put off the thoughts of marrying again, till his commerce with ſo mean a creature was diſcovered; and when it was diſcovered, he ought to have choſen for his father in law, not the man who would moſt readily accept his propoſals, but one whoſe alliance would have done him the moſt honor.

PHILOPŒMEN.

AT Mantinea, there was a man of great quality and power named Caſſander,* who, being obliged, by a reverſe of fortune, to quit his own country, went and ſettled at Megalopolis. He was induced to fix there, chiefly by the friendſhip which ſubſiſted between him and Craugis,† the father of Philopœmen, who was in all reſpects an extraordinary man. While his friend lived, he had all that he could wiſh; and being deſirous, after his death, to make ſome return for his hoſpitality, he educated his orphan ſon in the ſame manner as Homer ſays Achilles was educated by Phœnix, and formed him from his infancy to generous ſentiments and royal virtues.

But when he was paſt the years of childhood, Ecdemus and Demophanes‡ had the principal care of him. They were both Megalopolitans; who, having learned the academic philoſophy of Arceſilaus,‖ applied it, above all the men of their time, to action and affairs of ſtate. They delivered their country from tyranny, by providing perſons privately to take off Ariſtodemus; they were aſſiſting to Aratus, in driving out Nicocles the tyrant of Sicyon; and, at the requeſt of the people of Cyrene,

* Pauſanias calls him *Cleander*; and ſome manuſcripts of Plutarch agree with him. So it is alſo in the tranſlation of Guarini.

† Craugis in Pauſanias; in the inſcription of a ſtatue of Philopœmen at Tegeæ; and in an ancient collection of epigrams.

‡ In Pauſanias their names are Ecdelus and Megalophanes.

‖ Arceſilaus was founder of the middle Academy, and made ſome alteration in the doctrine which had obtained.

whoſe government was in great diſorder, they ſailed thither, ſettled it on the foundation of good laws, and thoroughly regulated the commonwealth. But among all their great actions, they valued themſelves moſt on the education of Philopœmen, as having rendered him, by the principles of philoſophy, a common benefit to Greece. And indeed, as he came the laſt of ſo many excellent generals, Greece loved him extremely, as the child of her old age, and, as his reputation increaſed, enlarged his power. For which reaſon, a certain Roman calls him *the laſt of the Greeks*, meaning that Greece had not produced one great man, or one that was worthy of her, after him.

His viſage was not very homely,* as ſome imagine it to have been; for we ſee his ſtatue ſtill remaining at Delphi. As for the miſtake of his hoſteſs at Megara, it is ſaid to be owing to his eaſineſs of behavior and the ſimplicity of his garb. She having word brought that the general of the Achæans was coming to her houſe, was in great care and hurry to provide his ſupper, her huſband happening to be out of the way. In the mean time Philopœmen came, and, as his habit was ordinary, ſhe took him for one of his own ſervants, or for an harbinger, and deſired him to aſſiſt her in the buſineſs of the kitchen. He preſently threw off his cloak, and began to cleave ſome wood; when the maſter of the houſe returning, and ſeeing him ſo employed, ſaid, "What is the meaning of this Philo-"pœmen?" He replied, in broad Doric, "I am paying "the fine of my deformity." Titus Flaminius rallying him one day upon his make, ſaid, "What fine hands and "legs you have! but then you have no belly;" and he was indeed very ſlender in the waiſt. But this raillery might rather be referred to the condition of his fortune; for he had good ſoldiers, both horſe and foot, but very often wanted money to pay them. Theſe ſtories are ſubjects of diſputations in the ſchools.

As to his manners; we find that his purſuits of honor were too much attended with roughneſs and paſſion.—Epaminondas was the perſon whom he propoſed his pattern; and he ſucceeded in imitating his activity, his

* Pauſanias aſſures us that his viſage was homely, but at the ſame time declares, that in point of ſize and ſtrength no man in Peloponneſus exceeded him.

ſhrewdneſs, and contempt of riches; but his choleric, contentious humor prevented his attaining to the mildneſs, the gravity, and candor of that great man in political diſputes; ſo that he ſeemed rather fit for war, than for the civil adminiſtration. Indeed, from a child he was fond of every thing in the military way, and readily entered into the exerciſes which tended to that purpoſe, thoſe of riding, for inſtance, and handling of arms. As he ſeemed well formed for wreſtling too, his friends and governors adviſed him to improve himſelf in that art; which gave him occaſion to aſk, whether that might be conſiſtent with his proficiency as a ſoldier? They told him the truth; that the habit of body and manner of life, the diet and exerciſe of a ſoldier and a wreſtler were entirely different; that the wreſtler muſt have much ſleep and full meals, ſtated times of exerciſe and reſt, every little departure from his rules being very prejudicial to him; whereas the ſoldier ſhould be prepared for the moſt irregular changes of living, and ſhould chiefly endeavor to bring himſelf to bear the want of food and ſleep, without difficulty. Philopœmen hearing this, not only avoided and derided the exerciſe of wreſtling himſelf; but afterwards, when he came to be general, to the utmoſt of his power exploded the whole art, by every mark of diſgrace and expreſſion of contempt; ſatisfied that it rendered perſons, who were the moſt fit for war, quite uſeleſs and unable to fight on neceſſary occaſions.

When his governors and preceptors had quitted their charge, he engaged in thoſe private incurſions into Laconia which the city of Megalopolis made for the ſake of booty; and in theſe he was ſure to be the firſt to march out, and the laſt to return.

His leiſure he ſpent either in the chaſe, which increaſed both his ſtrength and activity, or in the tillage of the field. For he had a handſome eſtate, twenty furlongs from the city, to which he went every day after dinner, or after ſupper; and, at night, he threw himſelf upon an ordinary mattraſs, and ſlept as one of the laborers. Early in the morning he roſe and went to work along with his vine dreſſers or ploughmen; after which he returned to the town, and employed his time about the public affairs with his friends, and with the magiſtrates. What he gained in the wars he laid out upon horſes or

arms, or in the redeeming of captives; but he endeavored to improve his own eſtate the juſteſt way in the world, by agriculture I mean.* Nor did he apply himſelf to it in a curſory manner, but in full conviction that the ſureſt way not to touch what belongs to others, is to take care of one's own.

He ſpent ſome time in hearing the diſcourſes and ſtudying the writings of philoſophers; but ſelected ſuch as he thought might aſſiſt his progreſs in virtue. Among the poetical images in Homer, he attended to thoſe which ſeemed to excite and encourage valor; and as to other authors, he was moſt converſant in the *Tactics* of Evangelus,† and in the hiſtories of Alexander; being perſuaded that learning ought to conduce to action, and not be conſidered as mere paſtime and an uſeleſs fund for talk. In the ſtudy of *tactics*, he neglected thoſe plans and diagrams that are drawn upon paper, and exemplified the rules in the field; conſidering with himſelf as he travelled, and pointing out to thoſe about him, the difficulties of ſteep or broken ground; and how the ranks of an army muſt be extended or cloſed, according to the difference made by rivers, ditches, and defiles.

He ſeems, indeed, to have ſet rather too great a value on military knowledge; embracing war as the moſt extenſive exerciſe of virtue, and deſpiſing thoſe that were not verſed in it, as perſons entirely uſeleſs.

He was now thirty years old, when Cleomenes,‡ king of the Lacedæmonians, ſurpriſed Megalopolis in the night, and having forced the guards, entered and ſeized the market place. Philopœmen ran to ſuccor the inhabitants, but was not able to drive out the enemy, though he fought with the moſt determined and deſperate valor.

* Columella ſays agriculture is next akin to philoſophy. It does, indeed, afford a perſon who is capable of ſpeculation, an opportunity of meditating on nature; and ſuch meditations enlarge the mind.

† This author is mentioned by Arrian, who alſo wrote a diſcourſe on Tactics. He obſerves that the treatiſe of Evangelus, as well as thoſe of ſeveral other writers on that ſubject, were become of little uſe in his time, becauſe they had omitted ſeveral things as ſufficiently known in their days, which, however, then wanted explication. This may ſerve as a caution to future writers on this and ſuch like ſubjects.

‡ Cleomenes made himſelf maſter of Megalopolis in the ſecond year of the hundred and thirtyninth Olympiad, which was the two hundred and twentyfirſt before the Chriſtian era.

He prevailed, however, ſo far as to give the people opportunity to ſteal out of the town, by maintaining the combat with the purſuers, and drawing Cleomenes upon himſelf, ſo that he retired the laſt with difficulty, and after prodigious efforts; being wounded and having his horſe killed under him. When they had gained Meſſene, Cleomenes made them an offer of their city with their lands and goods. Philopœmen perceiving they were glad to accept the propoſal, and in haſte to return, ſtrongly oppoſed it, repreſenting to them in a ſet ſpeech, that Cleomenes did not want to reſtore them their city, but to be maſter of the citizens, in order that he might be more ſecure of keeping the place; that he could not ſit ſtill long to watch empty houſes and walls, for the very ſolitude would force them away. By this argument he turned the Megalopolitans from their purpoſe, but at the ſame time furniſhed Cleomenes with a pretence to plunder the town and demoliſh the greateſt part of it, and to march off loaded with booty.

Soon after, Antigonus came down to aſſiſt the Achæans againſt Cleomenes; and finding that he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the heights of Sellaſia, and blocked up the paſſages, Antigonus drew up his army near him, with a reſolution to force him from his poſt. Philopœmen, with his citizens, was placed among the cavalry, ſupported by the Illyrian foot, a numerous and gallant body of men, who cloſed that extremity. They had orders to wait quietly, until from the other wing, where the king fought in perſon, they ſhould ſee a red robe lifted up upon the point of a ſpear. The Achæans kept their ground, as they were directed; but the Illyrian officers with their corps attempted to break in upon the Lacedæmonians. Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, ſeeing this opening made in the enemy's army, immediately ordered a party of his light armed infantry to wheel about and attack the rear of the Illyrians, thus ſeparated from the horſe. This being put in execution, and the Illyrians haraſſed and broken, Philopœmen perceived that it would be no difficult matter to drive off that light armed party, and that the occaſion called for it. Firſt he mentioned the thing to the king's officers, but they rejected the hint, and conſidered him as no better than a madman, his reputation being not yet reſpectable enough to juſtify

ſuch a movement. He, therefore, with his Megalopolitans, falling upon that light armed corps himſelf, at the firſt encounter put them in confuſion, and ſoon after routed them with great ſlaughter. Deſirous yet farther to encourage Antigonus's troops, and quickly to penetrate into the enemy's army, which was now in ſome diſorder, he quitted his horſe; and advancing on foot, in his horſeman's coat of mail and other heavy accoutrements, upon rough uneven ground, that was full of ſprings and bogs, he was making his way with extreme difficulty, when he had both his thighs ſtruck through with a javelin, ſo that the point came through on the other ſide, and the wound was great though not mortal. At firſt he ſtood ſtill as if he had been ſhackled, not knowing what method to take. For the thong in the middle of the javelin rendered it difficult to be drawn out; nor would any about him venture to do it. At the ſame time the fight being at the hotteſt, and likely to be ſoon over, honor and indignation puſhed him on to take his ſhare in it; and therefore, by moving his legs this way and that, he broke the ſtaff, and then ordered the pieces to be pulled out. Thus ſet free, he ran, ſword in hand, through the firſt ranks, to charge the enemy; at the ſame time animating the troops, and firing them with emulation.

Antigonus, having gained the victory, to try his Macedonian officers, demanded of them, "Why they had "brought on the cavalry before he gave them the ſig-"nal?" By way of apology, they ſaid, "They were "obliged, againſt their will, to come to action, becauſe "a young man of Megalopolis had begun the attack too "ſoon." "That young man," replied Antigonus ſmiling, "has performed the office of an experienced gen-"eral."

This action, as we may eaſily imagine, lifted Philopœmen into great reputation, ſo that Antigonus was very deſirous of having his ſervice in the wars, and offered him a conſiderable command with great appointments; but he declined it, becauſe he knew he could not bear to be under the direction of another. Not chooſing, however, to lie idle, and hearing there was a war in Crete, he ſailed thither, to exerciſe and improve his military talents. When he had ſerved there a good while, along with a ſet of brave men, who were not only verſed in all

the ſtrategems of war, but temperate beſides, and ſtrict in their manner of living, he returned with ſo much renown to the Achæans, that they immediately appointed him general of horſe. He found that the cavalry made uſe of ſmall and mean horſes, which they picked up as they could when they were called to a campaign; that many of them ſhunned the wars, and ſent others in their ſtead; and that ſhameful ignorance of ſervice,* with its conſequence, timidity, prevailed among them all. The former generals had connived at this, becauſe it being a degree of honor among the Achæans to ſerve on horſeback, the cavalry had great power in the commonwealth, and conſiderable influence in the diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments. But Philopœmen would not yield to ſuch conſiderations, or grant them the leaſt indulgence. Inſtead of that, he applied to the ſeveral towns, and to each of the young men in particular, rouſing them to a ſenſe of honor, puniſhing where neceſſity required, and practiſing them in exerciſe, reviews, and mock battles in places of the greateſt reſort. By theſe means in a little time he brought them to ſurpriſing ſtrength and ſpirit; and, what is of moſt conſequence in diſcipline, rendered them ſo light and quick, that all their evolutions and movements, whether performed ſeparately or together, were executed with ſo much readineſs and addreſs, that their motion was like that of one body actuated by an internal voluntary principle. In the great battle which they fought with the Ætolians and Eleans near the river Lariſſus,† Demophantus, general of the Elean horſe, advanced before the lines, at full ſpeed, againſt Philopœmen. Philopœmen, preventing his blow, with a puſh of his ſpear brought him dead to the ground. The enemy ſeeing Demophantus fall, immediately fled. And now Philopœmen was univerſally celebrated, as not inferior to the young in perſonal valor, nor to the old in prudence,

* δεινην δε απειριαν μετα ατολμιας παντων ησαν.—The Latin tranſlation, *eſſet etiam ſingularis omnium cum ignavia inertia*, being a little obſcure in this paſſage, though the Greek is very clear, the former Engliſh tranſlator entirely omitted it. The paſſage, however, is of importance, and well deſerves the conſideration of every military man.

† This battle was fought the fourth year of the hundred and forty-ſecond Olympiad, when Philopœmen was in his fortyforth year.

and as equally well qualified both to fight and to command.

Aratus was, indeed, the firſt who raiſed the commonwealth of the Achæans to dignity and power. For, whereas before they were in a low condition, diſperſed in unconnected cities, he united them in one body, and gave them a moderate civil government worthy of Greece. And as it happens in running waters, that when a few ſmall bodies ſtop, others ſtick to them, and one part ſtrengthening another, the whole becomes one firm and ſolid maſs, ſo it was with Greece. At a time when ſhe was weak and eaſily broken, diſperſed as ſhe was in a variety of cities, which ſtood each upon its own bottom, the Achæans firſt united themſelves, and then drawing ſome of the neighboring cities to them by aſſiſting them to expel their tyrants, while others voluntarily joined them for the ſake of that unanimity which they beheld in ſo well conſtituted a government; they conceived the great deſign of forming Peloponneſus into one community. It is true, that while Aratus lived, they attended the motions of the Macedonians, and made their court firſt to Ptolemy, and afterwards to Antigonus and Philip, who all had a great ſhare in the affairs of Greece. But when Philopœmen had taken upon him the adminiſtration, the Achæans finding themſelves reſpectable enough to oppoſe their ſtrongeſt adverſaries, ceaſed to call in foreign protectors. As for Aratus, not being ſo fit for conflicts in the field, he managed moſt of his affairs by addreſs, by moderation, and by the friendſhips he had formed with foreign princes, as we have related in his life. But Philopœmen, being a great warrior, vigorous and bold, and ſucceſsful withal in the firſt battles that he fought, raiſed the ambition of the Achæans together with their power; for under him they were uſed to conquer.

In the firſt place he corrected the errors of the Achæans in drawing up their forces and in the make of their arms. For hitherto they had made uſe of bucklers which were eaſy to manage on account of their ſmallneſs, but too narrow to cover the body, and lances that were much ſhorter than the Macedonian pikes; for which reaſon they anſwered the end in fighting at a diſtance, but were of little uſe in cloſe battle. As for the order of battle, they

had not been accuſtomed to draw up in a *ſpiral* form,* but in the ſquare battalion, which having neither a front of pikes, nor ſhields, fit to lock together, like that of the Macedonians, was eaſily penetrated and broken. Philopœmen altered both; perſuading them, inſtead of the buckler and lance, to take the ſhield and pike; to arm their heads, bodies, thighs, and legs, and, inſtead of a light and deſultory manner of fighting, to adopt a cloſe and firm one. After he had brought the youth to wear complete armor, and on that account to conſider themſelves as invincible, his next ſtep was to reform them with reſpect to luxury and love of expenſe. He could not, indeed, entirely cure them of the diſtemper with which they had long been infected, the vanity of appearance, for they had vied with each other in fine clothes, in purple carpets, and in the rich ſervice of their tables. But he began with diverting their love of ſhow, from ſuperfluous things to thoſe that were uſeful and honorable, and ſoon prevailed with them to retrench their daily expenſe upon their perſons, and to give into a magnificence in their arms and the whole equipage of war. The ſhops therefore were ſeen ſtrewed with plate broken in pieces, while breaſt plates were gilt with the gold, and ſhields and bridles ſtudded with the ſilver. On the parade the young men were managing horſes, or exerciſing their arms. The women were ſeen adorning helmets and creſts with various colors, or embroidering military veſts both for the cavalry and infantry. The very ſight of theſe things inflaming their courage, and calling forth their vigor, made them venturous and ready to face any danger. For much expenſe in other things that attract our eyes tempts to luxury, and too often produces effeminacy; the feaſting of the ſenſes relaxing the vigor of the mind; but in this

* The Macedonian phalanx occaſionally altered their form from the ſquare to the *ſpiral* or orbicular, and ſometimes to that of the *cuneus* or wedge.

Ταξις εις σπειραν might alſo be tranſlated *to draw up in platoons*, the word σπειρα derived from σπαω, ſignifying a *band* or *platoon*. But then in the original it would rather have been σπειρας than σπειραν; beſides, the context ſeems to determine it to the former ſignification. It was neceſſary for the phalanx to throw themſelves into the *ſpiral* or orbicular form, whenever they were ſurrounded, in order that they might face and fight the enemy on every ſide.

inſtance it ſtrengthens and improves it. Thus Homer repreſents Achilles, at the ſight of his new armor, exulting with joy,* and burning with impatience to uſe it. When Philopœmen had perſuaded the youth thus to arm and to adorn themſelves, he muſtered and trained them continually, and they entered with pride and pleaſure into his exerciſe. For they were greatly delighted with the new form of the battalion, which was ſo cemented that it ſeemed impoſſible to break it. And their arms became eaſy and light in the wearing, becauſe they were charmed with their richneſs and beauty, and they longed for nothing more than to uſe them againſt the enemy, and to try them in a real encounter.

At that time the Achæans were at war with Machanidas the tyrant of Lacedæmon, who, with a powerful army, was watching his opportunity to ſubdue all Peloponneſus. As ſoon as news was brought that he was fallen upon the Mantineans, Philopœmen took the field, and marched againſt him. They drew up their armies near Mantinea, each having a good number of mercenaries in pay, beſide the whole force of their reſpective cities. The engagement being begun, Machanidas with his foreign troops attacked and put to flight the ſpearmen and the Tarentines, who were placed in the Achæan front; but afterwards, inſtead of falling upon that part of the army who ſtood their ground, and breaking them, he went upon the purſuit of the fugitives;† and when he ſhould have endeavored to rout the main body of the Achæans, left his own uncovered. Philopœmen, after ſo indifferent a beginning, made light of the misfortune, and repreſented it as no great matter; though the day ſeemed to be loſt. But when he ſaw what an error the enemy committed, in quitting their foot, and going upon the purſuit, by which they left him a good opening, he did not try to ſtop them.

* She drops the radient burden on the ground;
Clang the ſtrong arms, and ring the ſhores around.
Back ſhrink the Myrmidons with dread ſurprize,
And from the broad effulgence turn their eyes.
Unmov'd, the hero kindles at the ſhow,
And feels with rage divine his boſom glow;
From his fierce eyeballs living flames expire,
And flaſh inceſſant like a ſtream of fire. *Pope*, ll. 19.

† See Polybius, book xi.

in their career after the fugitives, but ſuffered them to paſs by. When the purſuers were got at a great diſtance, he ruſhed upon the Lacedæmonian infantry, now left unſupported by their right wing. Stretching, therefore, to the left, he took them in flank, deſtitute as they were of a general, and far from expecting to come to blows; for they thought Machanidas abſolutely ſure of victory, when they ſaw him upon the purſuit.

After he had routed this infantry with great ſlaughter (for it is ſaid that four thouſand Lacedæmonians were left dead upon the ſpot) he marched againſt Machanidas, who was now returning, with his mercenaries from the purſuit. There was a broad and deep ditch between them, where both ſtrove awhile, the one to get over and fly, the other to hinder him. Their appearance was not like that of a combat between two generals, but between two wild beaſts (or rather between a hunter and a wild beaſt) whom neceſſity redudes to fight. Philopœmen was the great hunter. The tyrant's horſe being ſtrong and ſpirited, and violently ſpurred on both ſides, ventured to leap into the ditch; and was raiſing his fore feet in order to gain the oppoſite bank, when Simmias and Polyænus, who always fought by the ſide of Philopœmen, both rode up and levelled their ſpears againſt Machanidas. But Philopœmen prevented them; and perceiving that the horſe, with his head high reared, covered the tyrant's body, he turned his own a little, and puſhing his ſpear at him with all his force, tumbled him into the ditch. The Achæans, in admiration of this exploit and of his conduct in the whole action, ſet up his ſtatue in braſs at Delphi, in the attitude in which he killed the tyrant.

It is reported, that at the Nemean games, a little after he had gained the battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen then choſen general the ſecond time, and at leiſure on account of that great feſtival, firſt cauſed this phalanx, in the beſt order and attire, to paſs in review before the Greeks, and to make all the movements which the art of war teaches, with the utmoſt vigor and agility. After this, he entered the theatre, while the muſicians were contending for the prize. He was attended by the youth in their military cloaks and ſcarlet veſts. Theſe young men were all well made, of the ſame age and ſtature, and though

they ſhowed great reſpect for their general, yet they ſeemed not a little elated themſelves with the many glorious battles they had fought. In the moment that they entered, Pylades the muſician happened to be ſinging to his lyre the *Perſæ* of Timotheus,* and was pronoucing this verſe with which it begins,

The palm of liberty for Greece I won,

when the people ſtruck with the grandeur of the poetry, ſung by a voice equally excellent, from every part of the theatre turned their eyes upon Philopœmen, and welcomed him with the loudeſt plaudits. They caught in idea the ancient dignity of Greece, and in their preſent confidence aſpired to the lofty ſpirit of former times.

As young horſes require their accuſtomed riders, and are wild and unruly when mounted by ſtrangers, ſo it was with the Achæans. When their forces were under any other commander, on every great emergency, they grew diſcontented, and looked about for Philopœmen; and if he did but make his appearance, they were ſoon ſatisfied again and fitted for action by the confidence which they placed in him; well knowing that he was the only general whom their enemies durſt not look in the face, and that they were ready to tremble at his very name.

Philip, king of Macedon, thinking he could eaſily bring the Achæans under him again, if Philopœmen was out of the way, privately ſent ſome perſons to Argos to aſſaſſinate him. But this treachery was timely diſcovered, and brought upon Philip the hated and contempt of all the Greeks. The Bœotians were beſieging Megara, and hoped to be ſoon maſters of the place, when a report, though not a true one, being ſpread among them, that Philopœmen was approaching to the relief of the beſieged, they left their ſcaling ladders already planted againſt the walls, and took to flight. Nabis, who was tyrant of Lacedæmon after Machanidas, had taken Meſſene by ſurpriſe. And Philopœmen, who was out of command, endeavored to perſuade Lyſippus, then general of the Achæans, to ſuccor the Meſſeneans; but

* Timotheus was a Dithyrambic poet, who flouriſhed about the ninetyfifth Olympiad, three hundred and ninetyeight years before the Chriſtian era.

not prevailing with him, becauſe, he ſaid, the enemy was within, and the place irrecoverably loſt, he went himſelf; taking with him his own citizens, who waited neither for form of law nor commiſſion, but followed him upon this natural principle, that he who excels ſhould always command. When he was got pretty near, Nabis was informed of it; and not daring to wait, though his army lay quartered in the town, ſtole out at another gate with his troops and marched off precipitately, thinking himſelf happy if he could eſcape. He did indeed eſcape, but Meſſene was reſcued.

Thus far every thing is great in the character of Philopœmen. But as for his going a ſecond time into Crete, at the requeſt of the Gortynians, who were engaged in war, and wanted him for general, it has been blamed, either as an act of cowardice, in deſerting his own country when ſhe was diſtreſſed by Nabis, or as an unſeaſonable ambition to ſhow himſelf to ſtrangers. And it is true, the Megalopolitans were then ſo hard preſſed, that they were obliged to ſhut themſelves up within their walls, and to ſow corn in their very ſtreets; the enemy having laid waſte their lands, and encamped almoſt at their gates. Philopœmen, therefore, by entering into the ſervice of the Cretans at ſuch a time, and taking a command beyond ſea, furniſhed his enemies with a pretence to accuſe him of baſely flying from the war at home.

Yet it is ſaid, that as the Achæans had choſen other generals, Philopœmen, being unemployed, beſtowed his leiſure upon the Gortynians, and took a command among them at their requeſt. For he had an extreme averſion to idleneſs, and was deſirous, above all things, to keep his talents, as a ſoldier and general, in conſtant practice. This was clear from what he ſaid of Ptolemy. Some were commending that prince for daily ſtudying the art of war, and improving his ſtrength by martial exerciſe: "Who," ſaid he, "can praiſe a prince of his age, that is always "preparing, and never performs?"

The Megalopolitans, highly incenſed at his abſence, and looking upon it as a deſertion, were inclined to paſs an outlawry againſt him. But the Achæans prevented them by ſending their general Ariſtænetus* to Megalo-

* Polybius and Livy call him Ariſtænus.

polis, who, though he differed with Philopœmen about matters of government, would not ſuffer him to be declared an outlaw. Philopœmen, finding himſelf neglected by his citizens, drew off from them ſeveral of the neighboring boroughs, and inſtructed them to allege that they were not compriſed in their taxations, nor originally of their dependencies. By aſſiſting them to maintain this pretext, he leſſened the authority of Megalopolis in the general aſſembly of the Achæans. But theſe things happened ſome time after.

Whilſt he commanded the Gortynians in Crete, he did not, like a Peloponneſian or Arcadian, make war in an open generous manner, but adopting the Cretan cuſtoms, and uſing their artifices and ſleights, their ſtratagems and ambuſhes, againſt themſelves, he ſoon ſhowed that their devices were like the ſhort ſighted ſchemes of children, when compared with the long reach of an experienced general.

Having greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by theſe means, and performed many exploits in that country, he returned to Peloponneſus with honor. Here he found Philip beaten by T. Q. Flaminius, and Nabis engaged in war both with the Romans and Achæans. He was immediately choſen general of the Achæans; but venturing to act at ſea, he fell under the ſame misfortune with Epaminondas; he ſaw the great ideas that had been formed of his courage and conduct, vaniſh in conſequence of his ill ſucceſs in a naval engagement. Some ſay, indeed, that Epaminondas was unwilling that his countrymen ſhould have any ſhare of the advantages of the ſea, leſt of good ſoldiers (as Plato expreſſes it*) they ſhould become licentious and diſſolute ſailors; and therefore choſe to return from Aſia and the iſles without effecting any thing. But Philopœmen being perſuaded that his ſkill in the land ſervice would enſure his ſucceſs at ſea, found to his coſt how much experience contributes to victory, and how much practice adds in all things to our powers. For he was not only worſted in the ſeafight for want of ſkill; but having fitted up an old ſhip which had been a famous veſſel

* This obſervation occurs in Plato's fourth book *De Legibus*; and from this paſſage of Plutarch, it appears, that there inſtead of νομιμων, we ſhould read μονιμων. The ancient Greek ν is not properly expreſſed. Indeed, there are no types for it.

forty years before, and manned it with his townſmen, it proved ſo leaky that they were in danger of being loſt. Finding that, after this, the enemy deſpiſed him as a man who diſclaimed all pretenſions at ſea, and that they had inſolently laid ſiege to Gythium, he ſet ſail again; and as they did not expect him, but were diſperſed without any precaution, by reaſon of their late victory, he landed in the night, burnt their camp, and killed a great number of them.

A few days after, as he was marching through a difficult paſs, Nabis came ſuddenly upon him. The Achæans were in great terror, thinking it impoſſible to eſcape out of ſo dangerous a paſſage, which the enemy had already ſeized. But Philopœmen, making a little halt, and ſeeing, at once, the nature of the ground, ſhowed, that ſkill in drawing up an army is the capital point in the art of war. For altering a little the diſpoſition of his forces, and adapting it to the preſent occaſion, without any buſtle he eaſily diſengaged them from the difficulty; and then falling upon the enemy, put them entirely to the rout.—When he ſaw that they fled not to the town, but diſperſed themſelves about the country; as the ground was woody and uneven, and on account of the brooks and ditches impracticable for the horſe, he did not go upon the purſuit, but encamped before the evening. Concluding, however, that the fugitives would return as ſoon as it grew dark, and draw up in a ſtraggling manner to the city, he placed in ambuſh by the brooks and hills that ſurrounded it many parties of the Achæans with their ſwords in their hands. By this means the greateſt part of the troops of Nabis were cut off: For not returning in a body, but as the chance of flight had diſperſed them, they fell into their enemy's hands, and were caught like ſo many birds, ere they could enter the town.

Philopœmen being received on this account with great honor and applauſe in all the theatres of Greece, it gave ſome umbrage to Flaminius, a man naturally ambitious. For, as a Roman conſul, he thought himſelf entitled to much greater marks of diſtinction among the Achæans than a man of Arcadia, and that, as a public benefactor, he was infinitely above him; having by one proclamation ſet free all that part of Greece, which had been enſlaved

by Philip and the Macedonians.* After this, Flaminius made peace with Nabis; and Nabis was aſſaſſinated by the Ætolians. Hereupon Sparta being in great confuſion, Philopœmen ſeizing the opportunity, came upon it with his army, and, partly by force, partly by perſuaſion, brought that city to join in the Achæan league.—The gaining over a city of ſuch dignity and power made him perfectly adored among the Achæans. And, indeed, Sparta was an acquiſition of vaſt importance to Achaia, of which ſhe was now become a member. It was alſo a grateful ſervice to the principal Lacedæmonians, who hoped now to have him for the guardian of their liberty. For which reaſon, having ſold the houſe and goods of Nabis, by a public decree, they gave the money, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents, to Philopœmen, and determined to ſend it by perſons deputed from their body.

On this occaſion it appeared how clear his integrity was; that he not only ſeemed, but *was* a virtuous man. For not one of the Spartans choſe to ſpeak to a perſon of his character about a preſent; but afraid of the office, they all excuſed themſelves, and put it upon Timolaus, to whom he was bound by the rights of hoſpitality. Timolaus went to Megalopolis, and was entertained at Philopœmen's houſe; but when he obſerved the gravity of his diſcourſe, the ſimplicity of his diet, and the integrity of manners, quite impregnable to the attacks and deceits of money, he ſaid not a word about the preſent, but having aſſigned another cauſe for his coming, returned home. He was ſent a ſecond time, but could not mention the money. In a third viſit he brought it out with much difficulty, and declared the benevolence of Sparta to him. Philopœmen heard with pleaſure what he had to ſay, but immediately went himſelf to the people of Lacedæmon, and adviſed them not to try to tempt good men with money, who were already their friends, and of whoſe virtues they might freely avail themſelves; but to buy and corrupt ill men, who oppoſed their meaſures in council, that, thus ſilenced, they might give them the leſs trouble; it being much better to ſtop the mouths of

* Dacier reads *Lacedæmonians*, but does not mention his authority.

their enemies, than of their friends. Such was Philopœmen's contempt of money.

Some time after, Diophanes, being general of the Achæans, and hearing that the Lacedæmonians had thoughts of withdrawing from the league, determined to chaſtiſe them.* Meanwhile, they prepared for war, and raiſed great commotions in Peloponneſus. Philopœmen tried to appeaſe Diophanes and keep him quiet; repreſenting to him, "That while Antiochus and the Romans "were contending in the heart of Greece with two ſuch "powerful armies, an Achæan general ſhould turn his "attention to them; and, inſtead of lighting up a war at "home, ſhould overlook and paſs by ſome real injuries." When he found that Diophanes did not hearken to him, but marched along with Flaminius into Laconia, and that they took their rout towards Sparta, he did a thing which cannot be vindicated by law and ſtrict juſtice, but which diſcovers a great and noble daring. He got into the town himſelf, and though but a private man, ſhut the gates againſt an Achæan general and a Roman conſul; healed the diviſions among the Lacedæmonians, and brought them back to the league.

Yet, afterwards, when he was general himſelf, upon ſome new ſubject of complaint againſt that people, he reſtored their exiles, and put eighty citizens to death, as Polybius tells us, or, according to Ariſtocrates, three hundred and fifty. He demoliſhed their walls, took from them great part of their territory, and added it to that of Megalopolis. All who had been made free of Sparta by the tyrants he disfranchiſed, and carried into Achaia; except three thouſand who refuſed to quit the place, and thoſe he ſold for ſlaves. By way of inſult, as it were, upon Sparta, with the money ariſing thence he built a portico in Megalopolis. Purſuing his vengeance againſt that unhappy people who had already ſuffered more than they deſerved, he added one cruel and moſt unjuſt thing to fill up the meaſure of it; he deſtroyed their conſtitution. He aboliſhed the diſcipline of Lycurgus, compelled them to give their children and youth an Achæan education, inſtead of that of their own country, being per-

* The ſame year, Caius Livius with the Roman fleet defeated that of Antiochus, near Epheſus.

ſuaded that their ſpirit could never be humbled, while they adhered to the inſtitutions of their great lawgiver. Thus brought by the weight of their calamities, to have the ſinews of their city cut by Philopœmen, they grew tame and ſubmiſſive. Some time after, indeed, upon application to the Romans, they ſhook off the Achæan cuſtoms, and reeſtabliſhed their ancient ones, as far as it could be done, after ſo much miſery and corruption.

When the Romans were carrying on the war with Antiochus in Greece, Philopœmen was in a private ſtation. And when he ſaw Antiochus ſit ſtill at Chalcia, and ſpend his time in youthful love and a marriage unſuitable to his years, while the Syrians roamed from town to town without diſcipline and without officers, and minded nothing but their pleaſures, he repined extremely that he was not then general of the Achæans, and ſcrupled not to declare, that he envied the Romans their victory; "For had I been "in command," ſaid he, "I would have cut them all in "pieces in the taverns." After Antiochus was overcome, the Romans preſſed ſtill harder upon Greece, and hemmed in the Achæans with their power; the orators too inclined to their intereſt. Under the auſpices of Heaven, their ſtrength prevailed over all; and the point was at hand, where fortune, who had long veered, was to ſtand ſtill. In theſe circumſtances, Philopœmen, like a good pilot, ſtruggled with the waves. Sometimes he was forced to give way a little and yield to the times, but on moſt occaſions maintaining the conflict, he endeavored to draw all that were conſiderable either for their eloquence or riches, to the ſide of liberty. Ariſtænetus the Megalopolitan, who had great intereſt among the Achæans, but always courted the Romans, declared it in council as his opinion, "That they ought not to be oppoſed "or diſobliged in any thing." Philopœmen heard him with ſilent indignation; and, at laſt, when he could refrain no longer, ſaid to him, "And why in ſuch haſte, "wretched man, to ſee an end of Greece?" Manius,* the Roman conſul, after the defeat of Antiochus, moved the Achæans to permit the Lacedæmonian exiles to return, and Titus ſeconded him in his application; but Philopœmen oppoſed it, not out of any ill will to the exiles,

* Manius Acilius Glabrio.

but becauſe he was willing they ſhould be indebted for that benefit to himſelf and the Achæans, and not to the favor of Titus and the Romans. For the next year, when he was general himſelf, he reſtored them. Thus his gallant ſpirit led him to contend with the prevailing powers.

He was elected general of the Achæans, the eighth time, when ſeventy years of age; and now he hoped not only to paſs the year of his magiſtracy without war, but the remainder of his life in quiet. For as the force of diſtempers abates with the ſtrength of the body, ſo in the ſtates of Greece the ſpirit of contention failed with their power. Some avenging deity, however, threw him down at laſt, like one who, with matchleſs ſpeed, runs over the race, and ſtumbles at the goal. It ſeems, that being in company where a certain general was mentioned as an extraordinary man, Philopœmen ſaid, "There was "no great account to be made of a man who ſuffered "himſelf to be taken alive." A few days after this, Dinocrates the Meſſenian, who was particularly on ill terms with Philopœmen, and, indeed, not upon good ones with any one, by reaſon of his profligate and wicked life, found means to draw Meſſene off from the league; and it was alſo ſaid that he was going to ſeize a little place called Colonis.* Philopœmen was then at Argos, ſick of a fever; but upon this news he puſhed to Megalopolis, and reached it in one day, though it was at the diſtance of four hundred furlongs. From thence he preſently drew out a body of horſe, conſiſting of the nobility, but all young men, who from affection to his perſon and ambition for glory, followed him as volunteers. With theſe he marched towards Meſſene, and meeting Dinocrates on Evander's hill,† he attacked and put him to flight. But five hundred men, who guarded the flat country, ſuddenly coming up, the others, who were routed, ſeeing them, rallied again about the hills. Hereupon, Philopœmen, afraid of being ſurrounded, and deſirous of ſaving his young cavalry, retreated upon rough and difficult

* There is no ſuch place known as *Colonis*. Livy (lib. 39) calls it *Corone*; and Plutarch probably wrote *Corona*, or *Coronis*. Strabo mentions the latter as a place in the neighborhood of Meſſene.

† *Evander's hill* is likewiſe unknown. Polybius, and after him Pauſanias, mentions a hill called *Eran* (which name it probably had from the cries of the Bacchanals) not far from Meſſene.

ground, while he was in the rear, often turning upon the enemy, and endeavoring to draw them entirely upon himſelf. Yet none of them dared to encounter him; they only ſhouted and rode about him at a diſtance. As he often faced about, and left his main body, on account of his young men, each of whom he was ſolicitous to put out of danger, at laſt he found himſelf alone amidſt a number of the enemy. Even then they durſt not attack him hand to hand, but, hurling their darts at a diſtance, they drove him upon ſteep and craggy places, where he could ſcarcely make his horſe go, though he ſpurred him continually. He was ſtill active through exerciſe, and for that reaſon his age was no hinderance to his eſcape; but being weakened by ſickneſs, and extremely fatigued with his journey, his horſe threw him, now heavy and encumbered, upon the ſtones. His head was wounded with the fall, and he lay a long time ſpeechleſs, ſo that the enemy, thinking him dead, began to turn him, in order to ſtrip him of his arms. But finding that he raiſed his head and opened his eyes, they gathered thick about him, bound his hands behind his back, and led him off with ſuch unworthy treatment and groſs abuſe, as Philopœmen could never have ſuppoſed he ſhould come to ſuffer even from Dinocrates.

The Meſſenians, elated at the news, flocked to the gates. But when they ſaw Philopœmen dragged along in a manner ſo unworthy of the glory of his achievements and trophies, moſt of them were touched with pity and compaſſion for his misfortune. They ſhed tears, and contemned all human greatneſs as a faithleſs ſupport, as vanity and nothing. Their tears by little and little, turned to kind words, and they began to ſay, they ought to remember his former benefits, and the liberty he had procured them by expelling the tyrant Nabis. A few there were indeed, who to gratify Dinocrates, talked of putting Philopœmen to torture and to death, as a dangerous and implacable enemy, and the more to be dreaded by Dinocrates, if he eſcaped after being made priſoner, and treated with ſuch indignity. At laſt they put him in a dungeon called the *Treaſury*,* which had neither air nor light from without, and which having no

* The public treaſure was kept there; and it was ſhut up with an immenſe ſtone, moved to it by an engine. *Liv.* l. xxxix.

doors was closed with a great stone. In this dungeon they shut him up with the stone, and placed a guard around it.

Meanwhile, the Achæan cavalry recollecting themselves after their flight, found that Philopœmen was not with them, and probably had lost his life. They made a stand, and called him with loud cries, blaming each other for making a base and shameful escape, by abandoning their general, who had been prodigal of his own life in order to save theirs. By much search and inquiry about the country, they got intelligence that he was taken prisoner, and carried the heavy news to the states of Achaia; who, considering is as the greatest of losses, resolved to send an embassy to demand him of the Messenians; and in the mean time prepared for war.

While the Achæans were taking these resolutions, Dinocrates, who most of all dreaded time, as the thing most likely to save Philopœmen, determined to be beforehand with the league. Therefore, when night was come and the multitude retired, he opened the dungeon, and sent in one of his servants with a dose of poison, and orders not to leave him till he had taken it. Philopœmen was laid down in his cloak, but not asleep: Vexation and resentment kept him awake. When he saw the light, and the man standing by him with a cup of poison, he raised himself up, as well as his weakness would permit, and, receiving the cup, asked him, "Whether he "had heard any thing of his cavalry, and particularly "of Lycortas?" The executioner answering that they almost all escaped, he nodded his head in sign of satisfaction; and looking kindly upon him, said, "Thou "bringest good tidings, and we are not in all respects "unhappy." Without uttering another word, or breathing the least sigh, he drank off the poison and laid down again. He was already brought so low that he could not make much struggle with the fatal dose, and it despatched him presently.

The news of his death filled all Achaia with grief and lamentation. All the youth immediately repaired with the deputies of the several cities to Megalopolis, where they resolved without loss of time, to take their revenge. For this purpose, having chosen Lycortas* for their gen-

* This was in the second year of the hundred and fortyninth Olympiad. Lycortas was father to Polybius the historian, who was in the action, and might be then about twenty years of age.

eral, they entered Meſſene, and ravaged the country, till the Meſſenians with one conſent opened their gates and received them. Dinocrates prevented their revenge by killing himſelf; and thoſe who voted for having Philopœmen put to death, followed his example.* But ſuch as were for having him put to the torture, were taken by Lycortas, and reſerved for more painful puniſhments.

When they had burnt his remains, they put the aſhes in an urn, and returned not in a diſorderly and promiſcuous manner, but uniting a kind of triumphal march with the funeral ſolemnity. Firſt came the foot with crowns of victory on their heads, and tears in their eyes; and attended by their captive enemies in fetters. Polybius, the general's ſon, with the principal Achæans about him, carried the urn, which was ſo adorned with ribbons and garlands that it was hardly viſible. The march was cloſed by the cavalry completely armed and ſuperbly mounted; they neither expreſſed in their looks the melancholy of ſuch a mourning nor the joy of a victory.—The people of the towns and villages on the way, flocked out, as if it had been to meet him returning from a glorious campaign, touched the urn with great reſpect, and conducted it to Megalopolis. The old men, the women, and children, who joined the proceſſion, raiſed ſuch a bitter lamentation, that it ſpread through the army, and was reechoed by the city, which, beſides her grief for Philopœmen, bemoaned her own calamity, as in him ſhe thought ſhe loſt the chief rank and influence among the Achæans.

His interment was ſuitable to his dignity, and the Meſſenian priſoners were ſtoned to death at his tomb.—Many ſtatues were ſet up,† and many honors decreed him by the Grecian cities. But when Greece was involved in the dreadful misfortunes of Corinth, a certain Roman attempted to get them all pulled down,‡ accuſing

* τυτθαῖς δὲ δίκαις φοιβμενος συνελαμβανεν ὁ Λυκορτας. He intended to have them beaten with rods before they were put to death.

† Pauſanias, in his Arcadic, gives us the inſcription the Tegeans put upon one of thoſe ſtatues.

‡ This happened thirtyſeven years after his death, that is, the ſecond year of the hundred and fortyeighth Olympiad, one hundred and fortyfive years before the Chriſtian era.

him in form as if he had been alive, of implacable enmity to the Romans. When he had finiſhed the impeachment, and Polybius had anſwered his calumnies, neither Mummius nor his lieutenants would ſuffer the monuments of ſo illuſtrious a man to be defaced, though he had oppoſed both Flaminius and Glabrio not a little. For they made a proper diſtinction between virtue and intereſt, between honor and advantage; well concluding, that rewards and grateful acknowledgments are always due from perſons obliged to their benefactors, and honor and reſpect from men of merit to each other. So much concerning Philopœmen.

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.

THE perſon whom we put in parallel with Philopœmen, is Titus Quinctius Flaminius.* Thoſe who are deſirous of being acquainted with his countenance and figure, need but look upon the ſtatue in braſs, which is erected at Rome, with a Greek inſcription upon it, oppoſite the *Circus Maximus*, near the great ſtatue of Apollo, which was brought from Carthage. As to his diſpoſition, he was quick both to reſent an injury, and to do a ſervice. But his reſentment was not in all reſpects like his affection, for he puniſhed lightly, and ſoon forgot the offence; but his attachments and ſervices were laſting and complete. For the perſons whom he had obliged he ever retained a kind regard; as if, inſtead of receiving, they had conferred a favor; and conſidering them as his greateſt treaſure, he was always ready to protect and to promote them. Naturally covetous of honor and fame, and not chooſing to let others have any ſhare in his great

* It ought to be written *Flamininus*, and not *Flaminius*. Polybius, Livy, and all the other hiſtorians write it *Flamininus*. Indeed, the Flaminii were a very different family from the Flamininii. The former were patricians, the latter plebeians. Caius Flaminius, who was killed in the battle at the lake of Thraſymenus, was of the plebeian family. Beſides ſome manuſcripts, for inſtance the *Vulcob. an Anon.* and one that Dacier conſulted, have it Flamininus; which would be ſufficient authority to correct it. But that would occaſion ſome inconvenience, becauſe Plutarch has called him Flaminius in other places, as well as here in his life; and, indeed, ſeveral modern writers have done the ſame.

and good actions, he took more pleaſure in thoſe whom he could aſſiſt, than in thoſe who could give him aſſiſtance; looking upon the former as perſons who afforded room for the exertion of virtue, and the latter as his rivals in glory.

From his youth he was trained up to the profeſſion of arms. For Rome having then many important wars upon her hands, her youth betook themſelves by times to arms, and had early opportunities to qualify themſelves to command. Flaminius ſerved like the reſt, and was firſt a legionary tribune under the conſul Marcellus,* in the war with Hannibal. Marcellus fell into an ambuſcade and was ſlain; after which Flaminius was appointed governor of Tarentum, newly retaken, and of the country about it. In this commiſſion he grew no leſs famous for his adminiſtration of juſtice than for his military ſkill for which reaſon he was appointed chief director of the two colonies that were ſent to the cities of Narnia and Coſſa.

This inſpired him with ſuch lofty thoughts, that, overlooking the ordinary previous ſteps by which young men aſcend, I mean the offices of tribune, prætor, and ædile, he aimed directly at the conſulſhip. Supported by thoſe coloniſts, he preſented himſelf as a candidate. But the tribunes Fulvius and Manlius oppoſed him, inſiſting that it was a ſtrange and unheard of thing, for a man ſo young, who was not yet initiated in the firſt myſteries of government, to intrude, in contempt of the laws, into the higheſt office in the ſtate. The ſenate referred the affair to the ſuffrages of the people; and the people elected him conſul, though he was not yet thirty years old, with Sextus Ælius. The lots being caſt for the provinces, the war with Philip and the Macedonians fell to Flaminius; and this happened very fortunately for the Roman people; as that department required a general who did not want to do every thing by force and violence, but rather by gentleneſs and perſuaſion. For Macedonia furniſhed Philip with a ſufficient number of men for his wars, but Greece was

* He was appointed a tribune at the age of twenty, in the fourth year of the hundred and fortyſecond Olympiad. Conſequently he was born in the firſt year of the hundred and thirtyeighth Olympiad, which was the year of Rome 526. Livy tells us, he was thirtythree years of age, when he proclaimed liberty to Greece.

his principal dependence for a war of any length. She it was that ſupplied him with money and proviſions, with ſtrong holds and places of retreat, and, in a word, with all the materials of war. So that if ſhe could not be diſengaged from Philip, the war with him could not be decided by a ſingle battle. Beſides, the Greeks as yet had but little acquaintance with the Romans; it was now firſt to be eſtabliſhed by the intercourſe of buſineſs; and therefore, they would not ſo ſoon have embraced a foreign authority, inſtead of that they had been accuſtomed to, if the Roman general had not been a man of great good nature, who was more ready to avail himſelf of treaty than of the ſword, who had a perſuaſive manner where he applied, and was affable and eaſy of acceſs when applied to, and who had a conſtant and invariable regard to juſtice. But this will better appear from his actions themſelves.

Titus finding that Sulpitius and Publius,* his predeceſſors in command, had not entered Macedonia till late in the ſeaſon, and then did not proſecute the war with vigor, but ſpent their time in ſkirmiſhing to gain ſome particular poſt or paſs, or to intercept ſome proviſions, determined not to act like them. They had waſted the year of their conſulate in the enjoyment of their new honors and in the adminiſtration of domeſtic affairs, and towards the cloſe of the year they repaired to their province; by which artifice they got their command continued another year, being the firſt year in character of conſul, and the ſecond of proconſul. But Titus, ambitious to diſtinguiſh his conſulſhip by ſome important expedition, left the honors and prerogatives he had in Rome; and having requeſted the ſenate to permit his brother Lucius to command the naval forces, and ſelected three thouſand men, as yet in full vigor and ſpirits, and the glory of the field,† from thoſe troops, who, under Scipio had ſubdued Aſdrubal in Spain, and Hannibal in Africa, he croſſed the ſea, and got ſafe into Epirus. There he found Publius encamped over againſt Philip, who had been a long

* Publius Sulpitius Galba was conſul two years before. Publius Villius Tappulus was conſul the year after Sulpitius, and next before Flaminius.

† ωσπερ στομωμα—*as the edge of the weapon.*

time defending the fords of the river Apſus and the adjoining ſtraits; and that Publius had not been able to effect any thing, by reaſon of the natural ſtrength of the place.

Titus having taken the command of the army, and ſent Publius home, ſet himſelf to conſider the nature of the country. Its natural fortifications are equal to thoſe of Tempe, but it is not like Tempe in the beauty of the woods and groves, and the verdure of valleys and delicious meads. To the right and left, there is a chain of lofty mountains, between which there is a deep and long channel. Down this runs the river Apſus, like the Peneus; both in its appearance and rapidity. It covers the foot of the hills on each ſide, ſo that there is left only a narrow craggy path, cut out cloſe by the ſtream, which is not eaſy for an army to paſs at any time, and, when guarded, is not paſſable at all.

There were ſome, therefore, who adviſed Flaminius to take a compaſs through Daſſaretis along the Lycus, which was an eaſy paſſage. But he was afraid that if he removed too far from the ſea, into a country that was barren and little cultivated, while Philip avoided a battle he might come to want proviſions, and be conſtrained, like the general before him, to retreat to the ſea, without effecting any thing. This determined him to make his way up the mountains ſword in hand, and to force a paſſage. But Philip's army being poſſeſſed of the heights, ſhowered down their darts and arrows upon the Romans from every quarter. Several ſharp conteſts enſued, in which many were killed and wounded on both ſides, but none that were likely to be deciſive.

In the mean time, ſome ſhepherds of thoſe mountains came to the conſul with the diſcovery of a winding way, neglected by the enemy, by which they promiſed to bring his army to the top in three days at the fartheſt. And to confirm the truth of what they had ſaid, they brought Charops the ſon of Machatas, prince of the Epirots; who was a friend to the Romans, and privately aſſiſted them out of fear of Philip. As Flaminius could confide in him, he ſent away a tribune with four thouſand foot and three hundred horſe. The ſhepherds in bonds led the way. In the day time they lay ſtill in the hollows of the woods, and in the night they marched; for the moon was

was then at full. Flaminius having detached this party, let his main body reſt the three days, and only had ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes with the enemy to take up their attention. But the day that he expected thoſe who had taken the circuit, to appear upon the heights, he drew out his forces early, both the heavy and light armed, and dividing them into three parts, himſelf led the van; marching his men along the narroweſt path by the ſide of the river. The Macedonians galled him with their darts; but he maintained the combat notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of ground; and the other two parties fought with all the ſpirit of emulation, and clung to the rocks with aſtoniſhing ardor.

In the mean time the ſun aroſe, and a ſmoke appeared at a diſtance, not very ſtrong, but like the miſt of the hills. Being on the back of the enemy, they did not obſerve it, for it came from the troops who had reached the top. Amidſt the fatigue of the engagement the Romans were in doubt whether it was a ſignal or not, but they inclined to believe it the thing they wiſhed. And when they ſaw it increaſe, ſo as to darken the air, and to mount higher and higher, they were well aſſured that it came from the fires which their friends had lighted. Hereupon they ſet up loud ſhouts, and charging the enemy with greater vigor, puſhed them into the moſt craggy places. The ſhouts were reechoed by thoſe behind at the top of the mountain. And now the Macedonians fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Yet there were not above two thouſand ſlain, the purſuit being impeded by the difficulty of the aſcent. The Romans, however, pillaged the camp, ſeized the money and ſlaves, and became abſolute maſters of the paſs.

They then traverſed all Epirus, but with ſuch order and diſcipline, that, though they were at a great diſtance from their ſhips and the ſea, and had not the uſual monthly allowance of corn, or convenience of markets, yet they ſpared the country, which at the ſame time abounded in every thing. For Flaminius was informed that Philip, in his paſſage, or rather flight, through Theſſaly, had compelled the people to quit their habitations and retire to the mountains, had burnt the towns, and had given as plunder to his men what was too heavy or cumberſome to be carried off; and ſo had in a manner yielded

up the country to the Romans. The conſul, therefore, made a point of it to prevail with his men to ſpare it as their own, to march through it as land already ceded to them.

The event ſoon ſhowed the benefit of this good order. For as ſoon as they entered Theſſaly, all its cities declared for them; and the Greeks within Thermopylæ longed for the protection of Flaminius, and gave up their hearts to him. The Achæans renounced their alliance with Philip and by a ſolemn decree reſolved to take part with the Romans againſt him. And though the Ætolians, who at that time were ſtrongly attached to the Romans, made the Opuntians an offer to garriſon and defend their city, they refuſed it; and having ſent for Flaminius, put themſelves in his hands.

It is reported of Pyrrhus, when from an eminence he had firſt a proſpect of the diſpoſition of the Roman army, that he ſaid, "I ſee nothing barbarian like in the ranks "of theſe barbarians." Indeed, all who once ſaw Flaminius, ſpoke of him in the ſame terms. They had heard the Macedonians repreſent him as the fierce commander of a hoſt of barbarians, who was come to ruin and deſtroy, and to reduce all to ſlavery: And, when afterwards they met a young man of a mild aſpect, who ſpoke very good Greek, and was a lover of true honor, they were extremely taken with him, and excited the kind regards of their cities to him, as to a general who would lead them to liberty.

After this, Philip ſeeming inclined to treat, Flaminius came to an interview with him,* and offered him peace and friendſhip with Rome, on condition that he left the Grecians free, and withdrew his garriſons fom their cities. And as he refuſed thoſe terms, it was obvious even to the partiſans of Philip, that the Romans were not come to fight againſt the Greeks, but for Greece againſt the Macedonians.

The reſt of Greece acceding voluntarily to the confederacy, the conſul entered Bœotia, but in a peacable manner, and the chief of the Thebans came to meet him. They were inclined to the Macedonian intereſt on account of Brachyllas, but they honored and reſpected

* See Polybius, Book xvii.

Flaminius, and were willing to preſerve the friendſhip of both. Flaminius received them with great goodneſs, embraced them, and went on ſlowly with them, aſking various queſtions, and entertaining them with diſcourſe, on purpoſe to give his ſoldiers time to come up. Thus advancing inſenſibly to the gates of Thebes, he entered the city with them. They did not indeed quite reliſh the thing, but they were afraid to forbid him, as he came ſo well attended. Then, as if he had been no ways maſter of the town, he endeavored by perſuaſion to bring it to declare for the Romans; king Attalus ſeconding him, and uſing all his rhetoric to the Thebans. But that prince, it ſeems, in his eagerneſs to ſerve Flaminius, exerting himſelf more than his age could bear, was ſeized, as he was ſpeaking, with a giddineſs or rheum which made him ſwoon away. A few days after, his fleet conveyed him into Aſia, and he died there. As for the Boeotians, they took part with the Romans.

As Philip ſent an embaſſy to Rome, Flaminius alſo ſent his agents to procure a decree of the ſenate prolonging his commiſſion if the war continued, or elſe empowering him to make peace. For his ambition made him apprehenſive, that if a ſucceſſor were ſent, he ſhould be robbed of all the honor of the war. His friends managed matters ſo well for him, that Philip failed in his application, and the command was continued to Flaminius. Having received the decree, he was greatly elevated in his hopes, and marched immediately into Theſſaly to carry on the war againſt Philip. His army conſiſted of more than twentyſix thouſand men, of whom the Ætolians furniſhed ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe. Philip's forces were not inferior in number. They marched againſt each other, and arrived near Scotuſa, where they propoſed to decide the affair with the ſword. The vicinity of two ſuch armies had not the uſual effect, to ſtrike the officers with a mutual awe; on the contrary, it increaſed their courage and ardor; the Romans being ambitious to conquer the Macedonians, whoſe valor and power Alexander had rendered ſo famous, and the Macedonians hoping, if they could beat the Romans, whom they looked upon as a more reſpectable enemy than the Perſians, to raiſe the glory of Philip above that of Alexander. Flaminius, therefore, exhorted his men to behave with the greateſt courage and

gallantry, as they had to contend with brave adverſaries in ſo glorious a theatre as Greece. On the other ſide, Philip, in order to addreſs his army, aſcended an eminence without his camp, which happened to be a burying place, either not knowing it to be ſo, or in the hurry not attending to it. There he began an oration, ſuch as is uſual before a battle; but the omen of a ſepulchre ſpreading a diſmal melancholy among the troops, he ſtopped, and put off the action till another day.

Next morning at day break, after a rainy night, the clouds turning into a miſt, darkened the plain; and, as the day came on, a foggy thick air deſcending from the hills, covered all the ground between the two camps. Thoſe, therefore, that were ſent out on both ſides, to ſeize poſts or to make diſcoveries, ſoon meeting unawares, engaged at the *Cynoſcephalæ*, which are ſharp tops of hills ſtanding oppoſite each other, and ſo called from their reſemblance to the heads of dogs. The ſucceſs of theſe ſkirmiſhes was various by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the ground, the ſame parties ſometimes flying and ſometimes purſuing; and reinforcements were ſent on both ſides, as they found their men hard preſſed and giving way; till at length, the day clearing up, the action became general. Philip, who was in the right wing, advanced from the riſing ground with his whole phalanx againſt the Romans, who could not, even the braveſt of them, ſtand the ſhock of the united ſhields and the projected ſpears.* But the Macedonian left wing being ſeparated and interſected by the hills,† Flaminius obſerving that, and having no hopes on the ſide where his troops gave way, haſtened to the other, and there charged the enemy where, on account of the inequality and roughneſs of the country, they could not keep in the cloſe form of a phalanx, nor line their ranks to any great depth, but were forced to fight man to man, in heavy and unwieldy armor. For the Macedonian phalanx is like an animal of enormous ſtrength, while it keeps in one body, and

* The pike of the fifth man in file projected beyond the front. There was, therefore, an amazing ſtrength in the phalanx, while it ſtood firm. But it had its inconveniencies. It could not act at all except in a level and clear field. *Polyb.* lib. xvii ſub fin.

† Plutarch makes no mention of the elephants; which, according to Livy and Polybius, were very ſerviceable to Flaminius.

preſerves its union of locked ſhields; but when that is broken, each particular ſoldier loſes of his force, as well becauſe of the form of his armor, as becauſe the ſtrength of each conſiſts rather in his being a part of the whole, than in his ſingle perſon. When theſe were routed, ſome gave chaſe to the fugitives; others took thoſe Macedonians in flank who were ſtill fighting, the ſlaughter was great, and the wing, lately victorious, ſoon broken in ſuch a manner, that they threw down their arms and fled. There were no leſs than eight thouſand ſlain, and about five thouſand were taken priſoners. That Philip himſelf eſcaped, was chiefly owing to the Ætolians, who took to plundering the camp, while the Romans were buſied in the purſuit, ſo that at their return there was nothing left for them.

This from the firſt occaſioned quarrels and mutual reproaches. But afterwards Flaminius was hurt much more ſenſibly, when the Ætolians aſcribed the victory to themſelves,* and endeavored to prepoſſeſs the Greeks that the fact was really ſo. This report got ſuch ground, that the poets and others, in the verſes that were compoſed and ſung on this occaſion, put them before the Romans. The verſes moſt in vogue were the following:

> Stranger! unwept, unhonor'd with a grave,
> See thrice ten thouſand bodies of the brave!
> The fierce Ætolians, and the Latin power
> Led by Flaminius, rul'd the vengeful hour;
> Emathia's ſcourge beneath whoſe ſtroke they bled,
> And ſwifter than the roe, the mighty Philip fled.

Alcæus wrote this epigram in ridicule of Philip, and purpoſely miſrepreſented the number of the ſlain. The epigram was indeed in every body's mouth, but Flaminius was much more hurt by it than Philip; for the latter parodied Alcæus, as follows:

> Stranger; unleav'd unhonor'd e'en with bark,
> See this ſad tree, the gibbet of Alcæus!

* Polybius informs us, that the Macedonians in the firſt encounter had the advantage, and beat the Romans from the tops of the mountains they had gained. And he affirms, that in all probability the Romans would have been put to flight, had they not been ſupported by the Ætolian cavalry.

Flaminius, who was ambitious of the praiſe of Greece, was not a little provoked at this; and therefore managed every thing afterwards by himſelf, paying very little regard to the Ætolians. They in their turn indulged their reſentment; and, when Flaminius had admitted propoſals for an accommodation, and received an embaſſy for that purpoſe from Philip, the Ætolians exclaimed in all the cities of Greece, that he ſold the peace to the Macedonian, at a time when he might have put a final period to the war, and have deſtroyed that empire which firſt enſlaved the Grecians. Theſe ſpeeches, though groundleſs, greatly perplexed the allies; but Philip coming in perſon to treat, and ſubmitting himſelf and his kingdom to the diſcretion of Flaminius and the Romans, removed all ſuſpicion.

Thus Flaminius put an end to the war. He reſtored Philip his kingdom, but obliged him to quit all claim to Greece: He fined him a thouſand talents; took away all his ſhips except ten; and ſent Demetrius, one of his ſons, hoſtage to Rome. In this pacification, he made a happy uſe of the preſent, and wiſely provided for the time to come. For Hannibal the Carthaginian, an inveterate enemy to the Romans, and now an exile, being at the court of Antiochus,* exhorted him to meet fortune who opened her arms to him; and Antiochus himſelf ſeeing his power very conſiderable, and that his exploits had already gained him the title of the Great, began now to think of univerſal monarchy, and particularly of ſetting himſelf againſt the Romans. Had not Flaminius, therefore, in his great wiſdom foreſeen this, and made peace,† Antiochus might have joined Philip in the war, with Greece, and thoſe two kings, then the moſt powerful in the world, have made a common cauſe of it; which would have called Rome again to as great conflicts and dangers, as ſhe had experienced in the war with Hannibal.

* This is a miſtake. Hannibal did not come to the court of Antiochus till the year after Flaminius had proclaimed liberty to Greece at the Iſthmian games; Cato and Valerius Flaccus, who were then conſuls, having ſent an embaſſy to Carthage to complain of him.

† Polybius tells us, Flaminius was induced to conclude a peace upon the intelligence he had received, that Antiochus was marching towards Greece with a powerful army; and he was afraid Philip might lay hold on that advantage to continue the war.

But Flaminius, by thus putting an intermediate ſpace of peace between the two wars, and finiſhing the one before the other began, cut off at once the laſt hope of Philip, and the firſt of Antiochus.

The ten commiſſioners now ſent by the ſenate to aſſiſt Flaminius adviſed him to ſet the reſt of Greece free, but to keep garriſons in the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, to ſecure them in caſe of a war with Antiochus. But the Ætolians always ſevere in their accuſations, and now more ſo than ever, endeavored to excite a ſpirit of inſurrection in the cities, calling upon Flaminius to knock off the ſhackles of Greece; for ſo Philip uſed to term thoſe cities. They aſked the Greeks, "If "they did not find their chain very comfortable, now it "was more poliſhed, though heavier than before; and "if they did not conſider Flaminius as the greateſt of "benefactors, for unfettering their feet, and binding "them by the neck." Flaminius, afflicted at theſe clamors, begged of the council of deputies, and at laſt prevailed with them, to deliver thoſe cities from the garriſons, in order that his favor to the Grecians might be perfect and entire.

They were then celebrating the Iſthmian games, and an innumerable company was ſeated to ſee the exerciſes. For Greece now enjoying full peace after a length of wars, and, big with the expectation of liberty, had given into theſe feſtivals on that occaſion. Silence being commanded by ſound of trumpet, an herald went forth and made proclamation, "That the Roman ſenate, and Ti-"tus Quinctius Flaminius, the general and proconſul, "having vanquiſhed king Philip and the Macedonians, "took off all impoſitions, and withdrew all garriſons "from Greece, and reſtored liberty, and their own laws "and privileges, to the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocians, "Eubœans, Achæans, Phthiſtæ, Magneſians, Theſſali-"ans, and Perrhæbians."

At firſt the proclamation was not generally or diſtinctly heard, but a confuſed murmur ran through the theatre; ſome wondering, ſome queſtioning, and others calling upon the herald to repeat what he had ſaid. Silence being again commanded, the herald raiſed his voice, ſo as to be heard diſtinctly by the whole aſſembly. The ſhout which they gave in the tranſport of joy, was ſo pro-

digious, that it was heard as far as the ſea. The people left their ſeats; there was no farther regard paid to the diverſions; all haſtened to embrace and to addreſs the preſerver and protector of Greece. The hyperbolical accounts that have often been given of the effect of loud ſhouts, were verified on that occaſion. For the crows which then happened to be flying over their heads, fell into the theatre. The breaking of the air ſeems to have been the cauſe. For the ſound of many united voices being violently ſtrong, the parts of the air are ſeparated by it, and a void is left, which affords the birds no ſupport. Or perhaps the force of the ſound ſtrikes the birds like an arrow, and kills them in an inſtant. Or poſſibly a circular motion is cauſed in the air, as a whirlpool is produced in the ſea by the agitations of a ſtorm.

If Flaminius, as ſoon as he ſaw the aſſembly riſen, and the crowd ruſhing towards him, had not avoided them, and got under covert, he muſt have been ſurrounded, and, in all probability, ſuffocated by ſuch a multitude. When they had almoſt ſpent themſelves in acclamations about his pavilion, and night was now come, they retired; and whatever friends or fellow citizens they happened to ſee, they embraced and careſſed again, and then went and concluded the evening together in feaſting and merriment. There, no doubt, redoubling their joy, they began to recollect and talk of the ſtate of Greece; they obſerved, "That notwithſtanding the many great wars ſhe had been "engaged in for liberty, ſhe had never gained a more "ſecure or agreeable enjoyment of it, than now when "others had fought for her; that glorious and impor-"tant prize now hardly coſting them a drop of blood, or "a tear. That, of human excellencies, valor and pru-"dence were but rarely met with, but that juſtice was "ſtill more uncommon. That ſuch generals as Ageſi-"laus, Lyſander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, knew how to "manage a war, and to gain victories both by ſea and "land; but they knew not how to apply their ſucceſs to "generous and noble purpoſes. So that if one excepted "the battles of Marathon, of Salamis, Platæa, and Ther-"mopylæ, and the actions of Cimon upon the Eurymе-"don, and near Cyprus, Greece had fought to no other "purpoſe but to bring the yoke upon herſelf, all the tro-

" phies ſhe had erected were monuments of her diſhonor,
" and at laſt her affairs were ruined by the unjuſt ambi-
" tion of her chiefs. But theſe ſtrangers, who had ſcarce
" a ſpark of any thing Grecian left,* who ſcarce retained
" a faint tradition of their ancient deſcent from us, from
" whom the leaſt inclination, or even word in our behalf,
" could not have been expected; theſe ſtrangers have run
" the greateſt riſks,† and ſubmitted to the greateſt labors,
" to deliver Greece from her cruel and tyrannic maſters,
" and to crown her with liberty again."

Theſe were the reflections the Grecians made, and the actions of Flaminius juſtified them, being quite agreeable to his proclamation. For he immediately deſpatched Lentulus into Aſia, to ſet the Bargyllians free, and Tiſtilius‡ into Thrace, to draw Philip's garriſons out of the towns and adjacent iſlands. Publius Villius ſet ſail in order to treat with Antiochus about the freedom of the Grecians under him. And Flaminius himſelf went to Chalcis, and ſailed from thence to Magneſia, where he removed the garriſon, and put the government again in the hands of the people.

At Argos, being appointed director of the Nemean games, he ſettled the whole order of them in the moſt agreeable manner, and on that occaſion cauſed liberty to be proclaimed again by the crier. And as he paſſed through the other cities, he ſtrongly recommended to them an adherence to law, a ſtrict courſe of juſtice, and domeſtic peace and unanimity. He healed their diviſions; he reſtored their [illegible] cities. In ſhort, he took not more pleaſure in the conqueſt of the Macedonians, than in reconciling the Greeks to each other; and their liberty now

* According to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, Rome was ſtocked with inhabitants at firſt, chiefly from thoſe Grecian colonies which had ſettled in the ſouth of Italy before the time of Romulus.

† The former tranſlator has entirely miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage. The Greek runs thus:—ἐκ τοις μεγιστοις κινδυνοις και πονοις ηξιλομενοι την Ἑλλαδα δεσποτων χαλεπων και τυραννων ἐλευθερωσιν. His tranſlation runs thus:—*has retrieved Greece from her ſevereſt preſſures, and deepeſt extremities, has reſcued her out of the hands of inſulting tyrants, and reinſtated her in her former liberties.* It is plain he was led into this miſtake by miſunderſtanding the Latin, beyond which language he had no ambition to go. *Hi maximis periculis et laboribus Græciam gravibus ſolverunt dominis et tyrannis, atque in liberatem reſtituerunt.*

‡ Polybius and Livy call him Lucius Stertinius.

appeared the leaſt of the benefits he had conferred upon them.

It is ſaid, that when Lycurgus the orator had delivered Xenocrates the philoſopher out of the hands of the tax-gatherers who were hurrying him to priſon for the tax paid by ſtrangers, and had proſecuted them for their inſolence; Xenocrates afterwards meeting the children of Lycurgus, ſaid to them, "Children, I have made a noble "return to your father for the ſervice he did me; for all "the world praiſe him for it." But the returns which attended Flaminius and the Romans, for their beneficence to the Greeks, terminated not in praiſes only, but juſtly procured them the confidence of all mankind, and added greatly to their power. For now a variety of people not only accepted the governors ſet over them by Rome, but even ſent for them, and begged to be under their government. And not only cities and commonwealths, but kings, when injured by other kings, had recourſe to their protection. So that, the divine aſſiſtance too perhaps cooperating, in a ſhort time the whole world became ſubject to them. Flaminius alſo valued himſelf moſt upon the liberty he had beſtowed on Greece. For having dedicated ſome ſilver bucklers together with his own ſhield, at Delphi, he put upon them the following inſcription:

Ye Spartan twins, who tamed the foaming ſteed,
Ye friends, ye patrons of each glorious deed,
Behold Flaminius, of Æneas' line,
Preſents this offering at your awful ſhrine.
Ye ſons of love, your generous paths he trod,
And ſnatch'd from Greece each little tyrant's rod.

He offered alſo to Apollo a golden crown, with theſe verſes inſcribed on it:

See grateful Titus homage pay
To thee, the glorious god of day;
See him with gold thy locks adorn,
Thy locks which ſhed th' ambroſial morn.
O grant him fame and every gift divine,
Who led the warriors of Æneas' line.

The Grecians have had the noble gift of liberty twice conferred upon them in the city of Corinth; by Flaminius then, and by Nero in our times. It was granted

both times during the celebration of the Iſthmian games. Flaminius had it proclaimed by an herald; but Nero himſelf declared the Grecians free, and at liberty to be governed by their own laws, in an oration which he made from the roſtrum in the public aſſembly. This happened long after.*

Flaminius next undertook a very juſt and honorable war againſt Nabis, the wicked and abandoned tyrant of Lacedæmon; but in this caſe he diſappointed the hopes of Greece. For, though he might have taken him priſoner, he would not; but ſtruck up a league with him, and left Sparta unworthily in bondage! Whether it was that he feared, if the war was drawn out to any length, a ſucceſſor would be ſent him from Rome, who would rob him of the glory of it; or whether in his paſſion for fame, he was jealous of the reputation of Philopœmen; a man who on all occaſions had diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Greeks, and in that war particularly had given wonderful proofs both of courage and conduct; inſomuch that the Achæans gloried in him as much as in Flaminius, and paid him the ſame reſpect in their theatres. This greatly hurt Flaminius; he could not bear that an Arcadian, who had only commanded in ſome inconſiderable wars upon the confines of his own country, ſhould be held in equal admiration with a Roman conſul, who had fought for all Greece. Flaminius, however, did not want apologies for his conduct; for he ſaid, "He "put an end to the war, becauſe he ſaw he could not de- "ſtroy the tyrant without involving all the Spartans in "the mean time in great calamities."†

The Achæans decreed Flaminius many honors, but none ſeemed equal to his ſervices, unleſs it were one pre-

* Two hundred and ſixty-three years.

† Livy touches upon this reaſon; but at the ſame time he mentions others more to the honor of this great man. Winter was now coming on, and the ſiege of Sparta might have laſted a conſiderable time. The enemy's country was ſo exhauſted, that it could not ſupply him with proviſions, and it was difficult to get convoys from any other quarter. Beſides, Villius was returned from the court of Antiochus, and brought advice that the peace with that prince was not to be depended upon. In fact, he had already entered Europe with a fleet and army more numerous than before. And what forces had they to oppoſe him, in caſe of a rupture, if Flaminius continued to employ his in the ſiege of Sparta? *Liv.* l. xxxiv. c. 33, 34.

ſent, which pleaſed him above all the reſt. It was this: The Romans who had the misfortune to be taken priſoners in the war with Hannibal, were ſold for ſlaves, and diſperſed in various places. Twelve hundred of them were now in Greece. That ſad reverſe of fortune made them always unhappy, but now (as might be expected) they were ſtill more ſo, when they met their ſons, their brothers, or their acquaintance, and ſaw them free while they were ſlaves, and conquerors while they were captives. Flaminius did not pretend to take them from their maſters, though his heart ſympathized with their diſtreſs.—But the Achæans redeemed them at the rate of five minæ a man, and having collected them together, made Flaminius a preſent of them, juſt as he was going on board; ſo that he ſet ſail with great ſatisfaction, having found a glorious recompenſe for his glorious ſervices, a return ſuitable to a man of ſuch humane ſentiments and ſuch a lover of his country. This indeed made the moſt illuſtrious part of his triumph. For theſe poor men got their heads ſhaved, and wore the cap of liberty, as the cuſtom of ſlaves is upon their manumiſſion, and in this habit they followed the chariot of Flaminius. But to add to the ſplendor of the ſhow, there were the Grecian helmets, the Macedonian targets and ſpears, and the other ſpoils carried in great pomp before him. And the quantity of money was not ſmall; for, as Itanus relates it, there were carried in this triumph three thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen pounds of unwrought gold, fortythree thouſand two hundred and ſeventy of ſilver, fourteen thouſand five hundred and fourteen pieces of coined gold called Philippics; beſides which, Philip owed a thouſand talents. But the Romans were afterwards prevailed upon, chiefly by the mediation of Flaminius, to remit this debt; Philip was declared their ally, and his ſon, who had been with them as an hoſtage, ſent home.

After this Antiochus paſſed over into Greece with a great fleet and a powerful army, and ſolicited the ſtates to join him. The Ætolians, who had been a long time ill affected to the Romans, took his part, and ſuggeſted this pretence for the war, that he came to bring the Grecians liberty. The Grecians had no want of it, for they were free already; but, as he had no better cauſe to aſſign, they inſtructed him to cover his attempt with that ſpecious pretext.

The Romans, fearing on this account, a revolt in Greece, as well as the ſtrength of Antiochus, ſent the conſul Manius Acilius to command in the war, but appointed Flaminius his lieutenant,* for the ſake of his influence in Greece. His appearance there immediately confirmed ſuch as were yet friends, in their fidelity, and prevented thoſe who were wavering from an entire defection. This was effected by the reſpect they bore him; for it operated like a potent remedy at the beginning of a diſeaſe. There were few, indeed, ſo entirely gained and corrupted by the Ætolians, that his intereſt did not prevail with them; yet even theſe, though he was much exaſperated againſt them at preſent, he ſaved after the battle. For Antiochus, being defeated at Thermopylæ, and forced to fly, immediately embarked for Aſia. Upon this, the conſul Manius went againſt ſome of the Ætolians, and beſieged their towns, abandoning others to Philip. Thus great ravages were committed by the Macedonians among the Dolopians and Magneſians on one hand, and among the Athamanians and Aperantians on the other; and Manius himſelf, having ſacked the city of Heraclea, beſieged Naupactus, then in the hands of the Ætolians. But Flaminius, being touched with compaſſion for Greece, went from Peloponneſus to the conſul by water. He began with remonſtrating, that the conſul, though he had won the victory himſelf, ſuffered Philip to reap the fruits of it; and that while, to gratify his reſentment, he ſpent his time about one town, the Macedonians were ſubduing whole provinces and kingdoms. The beſieged happened to ſee Flaminius, called to him from the walls, ſtretched out their hands, and begged his interpoſition. He gave them no anſwer, but turned round and wept, and then immediately withdrew. Afterwards, however, he diſcourſed with Manius ſo effectually, that he appeaſed his anger, and procured the Ætolians a truce, and time to ſend deputies to Rome, to petition for favorable terms.

But he had much greater difficulties to combat, when he applied to Manius in behalf of the Chalcidians. The conſul was highly incenſed at them, on account of the

* According to Livy, it was not Titus, but Lucius Quinctius who was appointed lieutenant to Glabrio.

marriage which Antiochus celebrated among them, even after the war was begun; a marriage every way unſuitable as well as unſeaſonable; for he was far advanced in years, and the bride very young. The perſon he thus fell in love with was daughter to Cleoptolemus, and a virgin of incomparable beauty. This match brought the Chalcidians entirely into the king's intereſt, and they ſuffered him to make uſe of their city as a place of arms.* After the battle he fled with great precipitation to Chalcis, and taking with him his young wife, his treaſures and his friends, ſailed from thence to Aſia. And now Manius in his indignation marched directly againſt Chalcis, Flaminius followed, and endeavored to appeaſe his reſentment. At laſt he ſucceeded, by his aſſiduities with him and the moſt reſpectable Romans who were likely to have an influence upon him. The Chalcidians, thus ſaved from deſtruction, conſecrated the moſt beautiful and the nobleſt of their public edifices to Titus Flaminius; and ſuch inſcriptions as theſe are to be ſeen upon them to this day: "The people dedicated this Gymnaſium to Titus "and Hercules; the people conſecrate the Delphinium "to Titus and Apollo." Nay, what is more, even in our days a prieſt of Titus is formally elected and declared; and on occaſions of ſacrifice to him, when the libations are over, they ſing an hymn, the greateſt part of which for the length of it, I omit, and only give the concluſion:

While Rome's protecting power we prove,
Her faith adore, her virtues love,
Still, as our ſtrains to heaven aſpire,
Let Rome and Titus wake the lyre!
To theſe our grateful altars blaze,
And our long pæans pour immortal praiſe.

The reſt of the Grecians conferred upon him all due honors; and what realized thoſe honors, and added to their luſtre, was the extraordinary affection of the people, which he had gained by his lenity and moderation. For if he happened to be at variance with any one, upon account of buſineſs, or about a point of honor, as, for inſtance, with Philopœmen, and with Diophanes general

* πρὸς τὸν πολεμον ἑρμητηριον.

of the Achæans, he never gave into malignity, or carried his reſentment into action, but let it expire in words, in ſuch expoſtulations as the freedom of public debates may ſeem to juſtify. Indeed no man ever found him vindictive, but he often diſcovered a haſtineſs and paſſionate turn. Setting this aſide, he was the moſt agreeable man in the world, and a pleaſantry mixed with ſtrong ſenſe diſtinguiſhed his converſation. Thus, to divert the Achæans from their purpoſe of conquering the iſland of Zacynthus, he told them, "It was as dangerous for them to put their "heads out of Peloponneſus, as it was for the tortoiſe "to truſt his out of his ſhell." In the firſt conference which Philip and he had about peace, Philip taking occaſion to ſay, "Titus, you come with a numerous ret-"inue, whereas I came quite alone:" Flaminius anſwered, "No wonder if you come alone, for you have "killed all your friends and relations." Dinocrates the Meſſenian being in company at Rome, drank until he was intoxicated, and then put on a woman's habit, and danced in that diſguiſe. Next day he applied to Flaminius, and begged his aſſiſtance in a deſign which he had conceived, to withdraw Meſſene, from the Achæan league. Flaminius anſwered, "I will conſider of it; but I am ſur-"priſed that you, who conceived ſuch great deſigns, can "ſing and dance at a carouſal." And when the ambaſſadors of Antiochus repreſented to the Achæans, how numerous the king's forces were, and, to make them appear ſtill more ſo, reckoned them up by all their different names: "I ſupped once," ſaid Flaminius, "with a friend; "and upon my complaining of the great number of "diſhes, and expreſſing my wonder how he could furniſh "his table with ſuch a vaſt variety; be not uneaſy about "that, ſaid my friend, for it is all hog's fleſh, and the "difference is only in the dreſſing and the ſauce. In like "manner, I ſay to you, my Achæan friend, be not aſton-"iſhed at the number of Antiochus's forces, at theſe "pikemen, theſe halberdiers and cuiraſſiers; for they "are all Syrians, only diſtinguiſhed by the trifling arms "they bear."

After theſe great actions in Greece, and the concluſion of the war with Antiochus, Flaminius was created cenſor. This is the chief dignity in the ſtate, and the crown, as it were, of all its honors. He had for colleague the ſon

of Marcellus, who had been five times conſul. They expelled four ſenators who were men of no great note; and they admitted as citizens all who offered, provided that their parents were free. But they were forced to this by Terentius Culeo, a tribune of the people, who, in oppoſition to the nobility, procured ſuch orders from the commons. Two of the greateſt and moſt powerful men of thoſe times, Scipio Africanus and Marcius Cato, were then at variance with each other. Flaminius appointed the former of theſe preſident of the ſenate, as the firſt and beſt man in the commonwealth; and with the latter he entirely broke, on the following unhappy occaſion. Titus had a brother named Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, unlike him in all reſpects, but quite abandoned in his pleaſures, and regardleſs of decorum. This Lucius had a favorite boy whom he carried with him, even when he commanded armies and governed provinces. One day, as they were drinking, the boy, making his court to Lucius, ſaid, "I love you ſo tenderly, that preferring "your ſatisfaction to my own, I left a ſhow of gladia-"tors, to come to you, though I have never ſeen a man "killed." Lucius, delighted with the flattery, made anſwer, "If that be all, you need not be in the leaſt unea-"ſy, for I ſhall ſoon ſatisfy your longing." He immediately ordered a convict to be brought from the priſon, and having ſent for one of the lictors, commanded him to ſtrike off the man's head, in the room where they were carouſing. Valerius Antias writes, that this was done to gratify a miſtreſs. And Livy relates, from Cato's writings, that a Gauliſh deſerter being at the door with his wife and children, Lucius took him into the banqueting room, and killed him with his own hand; but it is probable, that Cato ſaid this, to aggrevate the charge. For that the perſon killed was not a deſerter, but a priſoner, and a condemned one too, appears from many writers, and particularly from Cicero, in his Treatiſe on Old Age, where he introduces Cato himſelf giving that account of the matter.

Upon this account, Cato, when he was cenſor, and ſet himſelf to remove all obnoxious perſons from the ſenate, expelled Lucius, though he was of conſular dignity. His brother thought this proceeding reflected diſhonor upon

himſelf; and they both went into the aſſembly in the form of ſuppliants, and beſought the people with tears, that Cato might be obliged to aſſign his reaſon for fixing ſuch a mark of diſgrace upon ſo illuſtrious a family. The requeſt appeared reaſonable. Cato without the leaſt heſitation came out, and ſtanding up with his colleague, interrogated Titus, whether he knew any thing of that feaſt. Titus anſwering in the negative, Cato related the affair, and called upon Lucius to declare upon oath, whether it was not true. As Lucius made no reply, the people determined the vote of infamy to be juſt, and conducted Cato home with great honor, from the tribunal.

Titus, greatly concerned at his brother's misfortune, leagued with the inveterate enemies of Cato, and gaining a majority in the ſenate, quaſhed and annulled all the contracts, leaſes, and bargains which Cato had made, relating to the public revenues; and ſtirred up many and violent proſecutions againſt him. But I know not whether he acted well, or agreeably to good policy, in thus becoming a mortal enemy to a man who had only done what became a lawful magiſtrate and a good citizen, for the ſake of one who was a relation indeed, but an unworthy one, and who had met with the puniſhment he deſerved. Some time after, however, the people being aſſembled in the theatres to ſee the ſhows, and the ſenate ſeated, according to cuſtom, in the moſt honorable place, Lucius was obſerved to go in an humble and dejected manner, and ſet down upon one of the loweſt benches. The people could not bear to ſee this, but called out to him to go up higher, and ceaſed not until he went to the conſular bench, who made room for him.

The native ambition of Flaminius was applauded, while it found ſufficient matter to employ itſelf upon in the wars we have given account of. And his ſerving in the army as a tribune, after he had been conſul, was regarded with a favorable eye, though no one required it of him. But when he was arrived at an age that excuſed him from all employments, he was blamed for indulging a violent paſſion for fame, and a youthful impetuoſity in that inactive ſeaſon of life. To ſome exceſs of this kind ſeems to have been owing his behavior with

reſpect to Hannibal,* at which the world was much offended. For Hannibal having fled his country, took refuge firſt at the court of Antiochus. But Antiochus, after he had loſt the battle of Phrygia, gladly accepting conditions of peace, Hannibal was again forced to fly; and after wandering through many countries, at length ſettled in Bithynia, and put himſelf under the protection of Pruſias. The Romans knew this perfectly well, but they took no notice of it, conſidering him now as a man enfeebled by age, and overthrown by fortune. But Flaminius, being ſent by the ſenate upon an embaſſy to Pruſias about other matters, and ſeeing Hannibal at his court, could not endure that he ſhould be ſuffered to live. And though Pruſias uſed much interceſſion and entreaty in behalf of a man who came to him as a ſuppliant, and lived with him under the ſanction of hoſpitality, he could not prevail.

It ſeems there was an ancient oracle, which thus propheſied concerning the end of Hannibal,

Libyſſan earth ſhall hide the bones of Hannibal.

He therefore thought of nothing but ending his days at Carthage, and being buried in Lybia. But in Bithynia there is a ſandy place near the ſea, which has a ſmall village in it called Libyſſa. In this neighborhood Hannibal lived. But having always been appriſed of the timidity of Pruſias, and diſtruſting him on that account, and dreading withal the attempts of the Romans, he had ſome time before ordered ſeveral ſubterraneous paſſages to be dug under his houſe; which were continued a great way under ground, and terminated in ſeveral different places, but were all undiſcernable without. As ſoon as he was informed of the orders which Flaminius had given, he attempted to make his eſcape by thoſe paſſages;

* Flaminius was no more than fortyfour years of age, when he went ambaſſador to Pruſias. It was not therefore an unſeaſonable deſire of a public character, or extravagant paſſion for fame, which was blamed in him on this occaſion, but an unworthy perſecution of a great, though unfortunate man. We are inclined however to think, that he had ſecret inſtructions from the ſenate for what he did; for it is not probable that a man of his mild and humane diſpoſition would chooſe to hunt down an old unhappy warrior; and Plutarch confirms this opinon afterwards.

but finding the king's guards at the outlets, he reſolved to kill himſelf. Some ſay, he wound his cloak about his neck, and ordered his ſervant to put his knees upon his back, and pull with all his force, and not to leave twiſting till he had quite ſtrangled him. Others tell us, that, like Themiſtocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. But Livy writes, that having poiſon in readineſs, he mixed it for a draught; and taking the cup in his hand, "Let us deliver the Romans," ſaid he, "from their cares "and anxieties, ſince they think it too tedious and dan-"gerous to wait for the death of a poor hated old man. "Yet ſhall not Titus gain a conqueſt worth envying, or "ſuitable to the generous proceedings of his anceſtors, "who ſent to caution Pyrrhus though a victorious ene-"my, againſt the poiſon that was prepared for him."

Thus Hannibal is ſaid to have died. When the news was brought to the ſenate, many in that auguſt body were highly diſpleaſed. Flaminius appeared too officious and cruel in his precautions, to procure the death of Hannibal, now tamed by his misfortunes, like a bird that through age had loſt its tail and feathers, and ſuffered to live ſo. And as he had no orders to put him to death, it was plain that he did it out of a paſſion for fame, and to be mentioned in aftertimes as the deſtroyer of Hannibal.* On this occaſion they recollected and admired more than ever, the humane and generous behavior of Scipio Africanus; for when he had vanquiſhed Hannibal in Africa, at a time when he was extremely formidable, and deemed invincible, he neither inſiſted on his baniſhment, nor demanded him of his fellow citizens; but, as he had embraced him at the conference which he had with him before the battle; ſo, after it, when he ſettled the conditions of peace, he offered not the leaſt affront or inſult to his misfortunes.

It is reported that they met again at Epheſus, and Hannibal, as they walked together, taking the upper hand, Africanus ſuffered it, and walked on without the leaſt concern. Afterwards they fell into converſation

* If this was really the motive of Flaminius, and nothing of a political tendency entered into this daſtardly deſtruction of that great general, it would hardly be poſſible for all the virtues, all the triumphs of the Romans, to redeem him from the infamy of ſo baſe an action.

about great generals, and Hannibal aſſerted that Alexander was the greateſt general the world had ever ſeen, that Pyrrhus was the ſecond, and himſelf the third. Scipio ſmiled at this, and ſaid, "But what rank would you "have placed yourſelf in, if I had not conquered you?" "O, Scipio!" ſaid he, "then I would not have placed "myſelf the third, but the firſt."

The generality admiring this moderation of Scipio, found the greater fault with Flaminius for taking the ſpoils of an enemy, whom another man had ſlain. There were ſome indeed, who applauded the thing, and obſerved, "That while Hannibal lived, they muſt have looked "upon him as a fire, which wanted only to be blown into "a flame. That when he was in the vigor of his age, "it was not his bodily ſtrength or his right hand which "was ſo dreadful to the Romans, but his capacity and "experience, together with his innate rancor and hatred "to their name. And that theſe are not altered by age; "for the native diſpoſition ſtill overrules the manners; "whereas fortune, far from remaining the ſame, changes continually, and by new hopes invites thoſe to new "enterpriſes who were ever at war with us in their "hearts." And the ſubſequent events contributed ſtill more to the juſtification of Flaminius. For, in the firſt place, Ariſtonicus, the ſon of a harper's daughter, on the ſtrength of his being reputed the natural ſon of Eumenes, filled all Aſia with tumult and rebellion; and in the next place, Mithridates, after ſuch ſtrokes as he had met with from Sylla and Fimbria, and ſo terrible a deſtruction among his troops and officers, roſe up ſtronger than ever againſt Lucullus, both by ſea and land. Indeed, Hannibal was never brought ſo low as Caius Marius had been. For Hannibal enjoyed the friendſhip of a king, from whom he received liberal ſupplies, and with whoſe officers, both in the navy and army, he had important connexions; whereas Marius was a wanderer in Africa, and forced to beg his bread. But the Romans, who had laughed at his fall, ſoon after bled, in their own ſtreets, under his rods and axes, and proſtrated themſelves before him. So true it is, that there is nothing either great or little at this moment, which is ſure to hold ſo in the days to come; and that the changes we have to experience, only terminate with our lives.

For this reaſon, ſome tell us, that Flaminius did not do this of himſelf, but that he was joined in commiſſion with Lucius Scipio, and that the ſole purpoſe of their embaſſy, was to procure the death of Hannibal. As we have no account after this, of any political or military act of Flaminius, and only know that he died in his bed, it is time to come to the compariſon.

FLAMINIUS AND PHILOPŒMEN,

COMPARED.

IF we conſider the extenſive benefits which Greece received from Flaminius, we ſhall find that neither Philopœmen, nor other Grecians more illuſtrious than Philopœmen, will ſtand the compariſon with him. For the Greeks always fought againſt Greeks; but Flaminius, who was not of Greece, fought for that country. And at a time when Philopœmen, unable to defend his fellow citizens who were engaged in a dangerous war, paſſed over into Crete, Flaminius having vanquiſhed Philip in the heart of Greece, ſet cities and whole nations free. If we examine into their battles, it will appear, that Philopœmen, while he commanded the Achæan forces, killed more Greeks, than Flaminius, in aſſerting the Grecian cauſe, killed Macedonians.

As to their failings, ambition was the fault of Flaminius, and obſtinacy that of Philopœmen. The former was paſſionate and the latter implacable. Flaminius left Philip in his royal dignity, and pardoned the Ætolians; whereas Philopœmen, in his reſentment againſt his country, robbed her of ſeveral of her dependencies. Beſides, Flaminius was always a firm friend to thoſe whom he had once ſerved; but Philopœmen was ever ready to deſtroy the merit of his former kindneſſes, only to indulge his anger. For he had been a great benefactor to the Lacedæmonians; yet afterwards he demoliſhed their walls, and ravaged their country; and in the end entirely changed and overturned their conſtitution. Nay, he ſeems to have ſacrificed his life to his paſſion and perverſeneſs, by too haſtily and unſeaſonably invading Meſſenia; in-

ſtead of taking, like Flaminius, every precaution for his own ſecurity and that of his troops.

But Philopœmen's military knowledge and experience was perfected by his many wars and victories. And, whereas Flaminius decided his diſpute with Philip in two engagements; Philopœmen, by conquering in an incredible number of battles, left fortune no room to queſtion his ſkill.

Flaminius, moreover, availed himſelf of the power of a great and flouriſhing commonwealth, and raiſed himſelf by its ſtrength; but Philopœmen diſtinguiſhed himſelf at a time when his country was upon the decline. So that the ſucceſs of the one is to be aſcribed ſolely to himſelf, and that of the other to all the Romans. The one had good troops to command; and the other made thoſe ſo which he commanded. And though the great actions of Philopœmen, being performed againſt Grecians, do not prove him a fortunate man, yet they prove him a brave man. For, where all other things are equal, great ſucceſs muſt be owing to ſuperior excellence. He had to do with two of the moſt warlike nations among the Greeks; the Cretans, who were the moſt artful; and the Lacedæmonians, who were the moſt valiant; and yet he maſtered the former by policy, and the latter by courage. Add to this, that Flaminius had his men ready armed and diſciplined to his hand; whereas Philopœmen had the armor of his to alter, and to new model their diſcipline. So that the things which contribute moſt to victory, were the invention of the one, while the other only practiſed what was already in uſe. Accordingly Philopœmen's perſonal exploits were many and great; but we find nothing of that kind remarkable in Flaminius. On the contrary, a certain Ætolian, ſaid, by way of raillery, "Whilſt I ran,* with my drawn ſword, to charge the "Macedonians, who ſtood firm and continued fighting, "Titus was ſtanding ſtill, with his hands lifted up to-"wards heaven, and praying."

It is true all acts of Flaminius were glorious, while he was general, and during his lieutenancy too; but

* The former tranſlator makes the Ætolian ſay this of Philopœmen; but the original will not bear it. In that caſe, the Greek, inſtead of ὡς ὁτε αυτος, κ, τ. λ. would have run ὡς ὁτε εκεινος.

Philopœmen ſhowed himſelf no leſs ſerviceable and active among the Achæans, when in a private capacity, than when he had the command. For, when commander in chief, he drove Nabis out of the city of Meſſene, and reſtored the inhabitants to their liberty; but he was only in a private ſtation, when he ſhut the gates of Sparta againſt the general Diophanes, and againſt Flaminius, and by that means ſaved the Lacedæmonians. Indeed, nature had given him ſuch talents for command, that he knew, not only how to govern according to the laws, but how to govern the laws themſelves, when the public good required it; not waiting for the formality of the people's appointing him, but rather employing them, when the occaſion demanded it. For he was perſuaded, that, not he whom the people elect, but he who thinks beſt for the people, is the true general.

There was undoubtedly ſomething great and generous in the clemency and humanity of Flaminius towards the Grecians; but there was ſomething ſtill greater and more generous in the reſolution which Philopœmen ſhowed in maintaining the liberties of Greece againſt the Romans. For it is a much eaſier matter to be liberal to the weak, than to oppoſe and to ſupport a diſpute with the ſtrong. Since, therefore, after all our inquiry into the characters of theſe two great men, the ſuperiority is not obvious, perhaps we ſhall not greatly err, if we give the Grecian the palm of generalſhip and military ſkill, and the Roman that of juſtice and humanity.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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